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ABSTRACT

The chapters in this collection, distributed to conference participants as a springboard for conference discussions, consider sustainable models for school-family-community collaboration, partnerships in education, and other ways to improve learning for urban youth. The contributions are: (1) "The Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community" (William L. Smith); (2) "Children and the EZ/EC Implementation: Prospects and Connections" (Maynard C. Reynolds and Margaret C. Wang); (3) "Children from Zero to Six in Urban America: Challenges and Opportunities To Foster Student Success" (Jane Knitzer); (4) "Revitalizing Inner Cities; Focusing on Children's Learning" (Margaret C. Wang, Geneva D. Haertel, and Herbert J. Walberg); (5) "Neighborhood Initiatives, Community Agencies, and the Public Schools: A Changing Scene for the Development and Learning of Children" (William Lowe Boyd, Robert L. Crowson, and Aaron Gresson); (6) "Service Coordination across Government Agencies" (John F. White, Jr. and Tine Hansen-Turton); (7) "The Urban University: Its Role in Community Development" (Bernard C. Watson); (8) "Serving Children and Families in the Inner Cities through the Development of Professional Human Services Workers" (Edmund W. Gordon); and (9) "Coda." Each selection contains references. (SLD)

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ED 433 390

DEVELOPMENT AND LEARNING OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN URBAN AMERICA

EDITED BY
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AND
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Development and Learning of Children and Youth in Urban America

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Introduction

By Margaret C. Wang and Maynard C. Reynolds

Nothing can be counted as progress in a community until the children and youth show healthy development and steady, sustained advances in learning. When children and youth lack the care they need, when they see too little progress and promise in their own lives as well as in their families and neighborhoods, they lose hope and motivation for schooling success and for life.

This is the sad story of significant numbers of our nation's children, especially in the innermost sections of urban areas. Disinvestment of all kinds—economic, professional, and social—is the pattern, and fractionation across agencies, professional societies, and bureaucracies is pervasive. The costs of this failure, measured for the individuals most affected and for society as a whole, are enormous, and prospects for the future are frightening indeed. The whole context of life for many children has collapsed, and while improvements and repairs of broad design are desperately needed, there are no sure remedies. This view, however, is only half of the entire picture.

Although there is much neglect and despair, there are also marvelous resources in many cities. There is every reason to work for joining all available resources in efforts to achieve the healthy development and learning of children and youth who live in some of the most adverse circumstances. A comprehensive effort to renew these most ill-favored communities, particularly the most inner of the inner cities, must be a national priority. One thing is certain: human development and education, with special focus on children, must be key considerations as plans for the future are advanced. A comprehensive effort to renew these most ill-favored communities, particularly the most inner sections of the inner cities, must be a national priority.

This was the call to action at a national invitational conference entitled *Development and Learning of Children and Youth in Urban America*. The conference, held on October 2-4, 1996 in Washington D.C., was sponsored by the National Center on Education in the Inner Cities (CEIC), a National Research and Development Center funded by the Office of Educational Research and

Improvement (OERI) of the U.S. Department of Education and established at the Temple University Center for Research in Human Development and Education (CRHDE), in collaboration with the Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community Task Force of the U.S. Department of Education and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

The invited conference participants represented a broad spectrum of professionals and members of local communities involved in efforts to achieve sustainable economic and community development in urban America in general, and the development and learning of children and youth in urban communities in particular. They included members of the Empowerment Zones/Enterprise Communities Task Force; leading scholars on urban community revitalization efforts; educational leaders who work closely with schools and/or related service agencies; university faculty from colleges of education, arts and sciences, and other social and health sciences disciplines working to improve development and learning of urban children and youth; representatives of professional organizations and related stakeholder groups; as well as federal and state officials and senior staff of the Office of Educational Research and Improvement.

The conference was designed to provide a forum for: (a) taking stock of what we know about ways to link the efforts of sustainable economic and community development initiatives, such as the EZ/EC initiative and similar efforts, that are currently in place to improve our capacity for fostering healthy development and education of children and youth in this nation's inner cities; and (b) forging candid discussions among the conferees to bring their expertise and multiple perspectives to bear in formulating next-step plans that might be taken to advance current state of practice in community revitalization programs.

The conference was based on several assumptions: (a) it is useful to bring researchers, policymakers, educators, and related services providers into fuller connections with broad-based community development efforts; (b) there is a pressing need to raise the consciousness of community leaders about child development and learning; and (c) professional organizations and universities should be fully engaged in community development efforts, such as the EZ/EC initiative.

The conference on *Development and Learning of Children and Youth in Urban America* was conceived during a period of uncertainty about public policy and support for healthy development and learning of children and youth in this country. Some observers describe the scene in 1996 in Washington, D.C. and many state capitals as revolutionary, making this a critical time for careful and well-informed consideration of what we know and what should be preserved, restructured, or radically changed in the service of children and youth. Thus, to the planners of the conference, it seemed that a national invitational conference concerning the development and learning of children and youth faced with multiple co-occurring risks in this nation's inner cities would be timely and strategic.

While the clear priority for most community revitalization efforts such as the EZ/EC initiative is economic development and job growth, human capital investment, especially the life and learning opportunities of children, is equally, if not more important in our judgment. At the local level, there are many problems and barriers surrounding the implementation of broad-based community revitalization programs that include the development and learning of children and youth as a major component. Schools and families, the most proximal agents of teaching and support for children and youth, are represented far too little in the implementation of community revitalization efforts such as the EZ/EC programs to date. This lack of attention to the central matter of development and learning among children and youth in the inner-city communities is most distressing and needs correction.

The chapters included in this volume were prepared and distributed to conferees in advance of the conference to serve as a springboard for discussion. The authors were asked to address several broad-based topics. They include:

- *Sustainable models for school-family-community collaboration in the service of children and youth in distressed environments.* What can be done to help communities develop a "vision" of new modes of coordinated human services, especially those focusing on healthy development and educational success of children and youth in inner-city communities?

- *Urban universities as partners.* What can be done to spur universities to strengthen commitments to work in distressed communities, such as the EZ/EC sites? And to do so in transdisciplinary ways?

- *Professional societies as partners.* What can be done to cause professional societies to strengthen their commitments to working in distressed communities? And to do so in cross-professional ways (i.e., ways that include teachers, researchers, psychologists, physicians, nurses, social workers and others)? How can high-competence services be provided in the least-favored communities?

- *Leadership, policies, and implementation support.* What can be done to motivate strong and sustained efforts in distressed communities to improve opportunities for development and learning of children and youth? To bring about effective collaboration by families, schools and other agencies? Are there ways of enhancing leadership and changing policies to bring sustained attention by government agencies and the private sector to the critical matters of child development and learning? How can community revitalization efforts such as the EZ/EC initiative help bring about such changes?

The chapter authors are practitioners, researchers, policymakers, and community organizers, who represent a variety of disciplines and perspectives, including economics, education, psychology, sociology, urban planning, and other social sciences-related fields. They were asked to be entirely candid in examining the state of practice in the inner cities, and to focus in particular focus on ideas for improvement—i.e., finding ways to harness all the major resources and expertise to improve development and education of children. Because the conference focused much of its attention on the Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community initiative and similar efforts, the first brief chapter of this volume describes the EZ/EC initiative. This orienting statement has been provided by Dr. William L. Smith, Director of the EZ/EC Task Force of the U.S. Department of Education. He was among the key figures in planning the conference.

The second chapter by Maynard C. Reynolds and Margaret C. Wang, entitled "Children and the EZ/EC Implementation: Prospects and Connections," provides a summary of the major findings of several teams of individuals who have broad professional experience in inner-city education and research and who have a reputation for positive and creative community work. The teams examined documents available on selected sites and interviewed key people responsible for implementing their respective EZ/EC plans. The chapter provides a descriptive synopsis of the programs at the selected EZ/EC sites, and provides a critical analysis of the practice and ideas for improvements.

In Chapter 3, "Children from Zero to Six in Urban America: Challenges and Opportunities to Foster School Success," Jane Knitzer discusses the urgency of creating "street smart" interventions for young children and their families that take into account the strengths in urban communities as well as the harsh realities of life that affect urban young children before they enter school. In addition to providing the demographic and empirical rationale for investing in young children and their families, Dr. Knitzer highlights effective state strategies that support program development and/or encourage community planning, the integration of fragmented early childhood programs at the community level, and roles for families and community stakeholders in governance, decision making, and resource allocation. She concludes the chapter by examining political and design issues that have significant implications for implementing coherent initiatives for young urban children and their families.

In Chapter 4, entitled "Revitalizing Inner Cities: Focusing on Children's Learning," Margaret C. Wang, Geneva D. Haertel, and Herbert J. Walberg provide an overview of the research base on the influences of schools, families, and communities on the learning and educational resilience of children in circumstances that place them at risk of educational failure. They discuss the state of practice and provide illustrations of policies and programmatic approaches that focus on healthy development and educational success as an integral component of community revitalization efforts.

In Chapter 5, "Neighborhood Initiatives, Community Agencies, and the Public Schools: A Changing Scene for the Development and Learning of Children," William Lowe Boyd, Robert L. Crowson, and Aaron Gresson provide an analysis of two parallel developments in urban reform: coordinated children's services in public education, and the economic and social regeneration of poor neighborhoods. They discuss the key differences in assumption, structure, and impact between these two reform thrusts, as well as their compatibility and implications for improvement. The authors also examine ways that revitalization efforts in urban communities can support the work of the public school, and discuss the potential of these simultaneous urban reform movements for a "changing scene" in the development and learning of children in urban neighborhoods.

Chapter 6, "Service Coordination Across Government Agencies" by John F. White, Jr. and Tine Hansen-Turton, examines procedures that have been tried and found useful in establishing coordinated, integrated service delivery systems across agencies at federal, state, and local levels. The authors proposed ways in which the needs of children and youth might become high-priority concerns in sustainable economic and community development in cities across the nation; discuss initiatives from policy and program implementation perspectives; and describe creative and effective ways to design programs that require new forms of collaboration at many levels.

Chapter 7, "The Urban University: Its Role in Community Development" by Bernard C. Watson, calls for the renewed commitment of urban universities to research, teaching, and service in distressed inner-city situations, and emphasizes healthy development and learning of children. Discussion focuses on addressing several critical questions, including: What are the roles and responsibilities of urban universities, especially regarding sustainable economic and community development initiatives, such as EZ/EC? What are some examples of effective strategies for fostering university/city relations? What can be done to encourage urban universities to expand their involvement to include community revitalization, and to cross the traditional boundaries between academic disciplines and/or between the academy and the "real world" around it?

"Serving Children and Families in the Inner Cities Through the Development of Professional Human Services Workers" is the focus of Chapter 8 by Edmund W. Gordon. Dr. Gordon provides a candid discussion of the present status of professionals as workers in community renewal efforts. Some of the key questions concerning the renewal of professional commitments to collaborate in local community development efforts addressed include: Do we have a fair share of competent psychologists, physicians, nurses, social workers, counselors, lawyers, and other professionals at work in local community renewal initiatives, such as the EZ/EC initiative? What might be done to foster the commitment of professionals of high competence to work in inner-city communities? Do the professionals bring to the work of the community adequate preparation for cross-professional coordination? The paper concludes by providing specific examples of ways to foster the development of human service professionals in the inner cities of America.

Finally, "The Coda," Chapter 9, provides a summary discussion of the major points of concern and the next-step recommendations that emerged from the conference, including: (a) increased attention toward children and youth in communities where sustainable economic and community renewal initiatives such as the EZ/EC initiative are being implemented, and particularly toward the need for massive improvements in the development and learning of the young; (b) clarification and further development of policies and priorities for federal funding of community redevelopment efforts, especially as related to healthy development and learning success of children in urban communities; (c) development of an action plan that challenges universities, professional societies, and individual scholars and researchers to bring their resources and expertise to work in partnership with the community in transdisciplinary ways; and (d) initiation of a set of "follow-through" activities that will bring continuing and concentrated attention to work focused on children and learning in EZ/EC sites and other similar community rebuilding/renewal efforts across the nation.

This volume would not have been possible without the expert guidance and assistance of the many individuals who provided the intellectual leadership in formulating the substantive agenda for the conference and this publication. To *Bill Smith, Director of the EZ/EC Community Task Force*, we extend our deep appreciation. His unrelenting encouragement and insight were the source of energy that brought the conference to fruition. We owe a special thanks to *Ron Pedone* and *Judy Wurtzel* of the U.S. Department of Education, and *Jim Gatz* of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, for giving so generously of their time and wisdom in serving as the ad hoc planning committee.

We also would like to express our gratitude to the staff at the Temple University Center for Research in Human Development and Education for their administrative and editorial support. Special kudos to Amanda Trayes for her perseverance and expert editing of this volume.

Chapter 1

The Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community

By William L. Smith
Director, Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community Task Force

In 1993, President Clinton and a bipartisan Congress passed the 1993 Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act, which appropriated $1 billion under Title XX of the Social Security Act to establish the Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community (EZ/EC) program. This section of the bill provided for funds to go directly to states for urban and rural grantees who were selected as EZ/EC program winners. By law, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) selected the urban winners and the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) selected the rural winners. Six cities were to receive $100 million and three rural communities were to receive $40 million to be spent over a ten-year period, if so desired. Ninety-five projects (65 urban and 30 rural) were to receive a grand total of over $3 million each to be used over the same 10-year period of time, if so desired.

The program had three major goals: (a) economic development; (b) community development; and (c) human resource development.

The six urban Empowerment Zones at $100 million each were:

- Atlanta, GA
- Baltimore, MD
- Chicago, IL
- Detroit, MI
- New York City, NY (North Harlem and South Bronx)
- Philadelphia, PA and Camden, NJ

The three rural Empowerment Zones at $40 million each were:

- Kentucky Highlands
- Mississippi mid-Delta
- Texas, Rio Grande Valley

Provisions were made available for tax breaks and tax incentives for all of the recipients with Title XX funds. HUD then made some additional changes. It awarded $125 million to the city and county of Los Angeles, CA, but no Title XX funds were available. In addition, HUD gave Cleveland, OH an additional $82 million. These two cities, Los Angeles and Cleveland, were called Supplemental Empowerment Zones.

HUD then added $22 million to four other Enterprise Communities and called them Enhanced Enterprise Communities. They are:

- Boston, MA
- Houston, TX
- Kansas City, MS/Kansas City, KS
- Oakland, CA

These twelve cities and three rural communities are referenced as "the big 15;" all have much more than the 90 Enterprise Communities and are treated as Empowerment Zones. Each of the 60 cities received the $3 million and each of the 30 rural counties received $3 million. These are the designated Enterprise Communities today.

A local contact has been designated for each EZ and EC. The local contact is not school-based, but rather is a person selected to serve the local Community Empowerment Board (CEB) which was developed from the strategic plan that each city and county submitted in competition. Every EZ or EC has a CEB.

That's a general history of what has been going on in 1994 and 1995. The three major agencies with legislative authority are the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), and the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA). HHS administered Title XX before the Social Security Office became an independent agency, while HUD is responsible for the cities' implementation of their funds. HUD manages this by hiring generalists who are responsible for the 72 urban cities through a contract with Price Waterhouse. USDA manages its 33 projects by using the USDA state coordinators for rural economic development. Their work with the rural EZs and ECs has been an added duty to each state.

All other federal agencies are involved as partners and colleagues. The Department of the Treasury has become one of the most active partners because it provides guidance for the tax incentives and the use of Title XX funds for matching funds options.

The EZ/EC initiative is truly an integrated effort, one in which 17 or 18 federal agencies are working together to help cities and communities carry out the vision and goals outlined in their strategic plan. This is the first time that this many federal agencies have responded to a single domestic initiative.

The overarching goal of this program is to empower people from the ground up. It fosters citizens' involvement from the planning stages through the implementation stages. It is a new way for citizens to acquire and use power. This *collaborative and participatory approach* to new leadership is part of the Planned Change process.

There is parity in this process of Planned Change. Parity is defined as the deliberate, collaborative decision making and planning of those providing the services and those receiving the services.

There is one challenge that we will have to address in the near future. Few local leaders are trained to provide the kind of leadership necessary to understand and carry out Planned Change. This makes progress slow and uneven.

Federal agencies are beginning to look at institutions of higher education—including universities, four-year colleges, and community and technical colleges—as a major vehicle for addressing this very challenging issue, especially as it relates to local cities and communities.

In terms of implementing strategic plans and developing benchmarks, most EZs and ECs focus predominantly on economic growth and development activities. They have options available to leverage their funds to acquire more funds.

We in education fully understand the importance of young people being prepared to replace today's leaders in the not-too-distant future. We fully understand the importance of transition from school to work. And we understand why it is so important for a community to have educated, well trained, well schooled adults and young people and why the system must be reformed to provide such changes to occur.

The *National Invitational Conference on Development and Learning of Children and Youth in Urban America* has proven to be a significant event for those of us working on the Department of Education's Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community Task Force. Collaborating with Dr. Margaret Wang and Dr. Maynard Reynolds in the development of this conference has been both exciting and beneficial. Their vision of how the world of research, especially educational research, can be integrated with the reality of social and educational problems facing urban communities is impressive.

Chapter 2

Children and the EZ/EC Implementation: Prospects and Connections

By Maynard C. Reynolds and Margaret C. Wang[1]

Nothing counts as progress in a community if its children are ill-served. Sadly, too many children—especially in our nation's inner cities—live under stressful conditions. For many inner-city children, survival is a primary concern. Reading, writing, and arithmetic seem little related to a future that is uncertain and possibly devoid of hope. These are systemic problems of a distressed community, not simply psychological problems of individuals or of narrowly framed categories of children. It is true, of course, that there are marvelous resources in most cities, but access to the supportive and enriching aspects of urban life is extremely limited for many children.

Schools in these troubled communities have made valiant efforts to adapt to the needs of students; the needs, however, often surpass all that schools alone can do. For this reason, schools have sought strengthened ties with community agencies of many kinds. Schools that formerly relished their independence now find themselves working in partnership with social, health, and corrections agencies, as well as with families. Building school-family-community collaboratives is tough, risky work, but the movement continues to grow. It is long-term work that cannot afford to fail. There is increasing recognition that seeing urban school situations narrowly and rejecting the broader, more encompassing influences in the lives of children and expanded approaches to problem-solving is tantamount to impeding the solution to urgent problems.

Our ongoing program of research and development at the National Center on Education in the Inner Cities (CEIC) has focused on these complex affairs, mostly at the grassroots level, during the past six years of our operations. Our broad-based theme of connecting schools with families and the community powerfully echoes the guiding themes of the federal Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community (EZ/EC) initiative. EZ/EC is described as a key strategy for community revitalization in the most distressed areas of the nation, a comprehensive approach involving coordination of economic, physical, environmental, and community resources and much attention to human needs.

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[1] We acknowledge with gratitude the site visit interviews and observations reported to us by Sylvia Rosenfield (Baltimore), Catherine Walsh (Boston), Jeri Nowakowski (Chicago), Edmund Gordon (New York), Andrea Zetlin (Los Angeles), Phyllis Blumberg (Philadelphia), and Ethel Simon-McWilliams (Portland).

The breadth of the EZ/EC commitment, involving virtually all federal departments, was the program feature that particularly captured our attention. Problems of the inner city transcend the capacity of isolated agencies to respond effectively, so broadly coordinated approaches are clearly required. Creating links from local levels to the higher levels involved in EZ/EC planning, however, remains a challenge. Ensuring that human needs, particularly those concerning children, are not lost in powerful moves for economic development is one of our most immediate concerns.

Several assumptions and early observations provided the impetus for the *National Invitational Conference on Development and Learning of Children and Youth in Urban America*. They include the following:

- It is common to regard the economic side of urban problems as the most critical, assuming that focusing on economic issues will ultimately lead to connections with family resources and to improved opportunities for chiluren. Good jobs are perceived as the key. Without disagreeing, we nonetheless assert that ultimately nothing counts as progress until we address the human side of urban problems—specifically the development and learning of children. Nothing is more basic, in the short and long term, than providing for the nurturance and development of the young. We cannot delay attention to children, because what is lost often cannot be made up and the future of the nation literally resides in their heads, hearts, and hands. Thus, we hold a strong conviction that decisions about how to revitalize the inner cities of the nation must begin with the people who live there, especially the children.

- We assume that research and researchers have much to contribute to problem-solving ventures, especially in designing valid and sustainable solutions to complex problems. It is necessary to make all well-confirmed knowledge available as plans and programs unfold. But researchers also have tools that can address emerging issues, and these are urgently needed in improvement efforts. Too often, researchers are connected to inner-city situations only occasionally and by a slender thread.

- Teachers, psychologists, physicians, social workers, and other professionals tend to burn out quickly in inner-city situations. Among teachers, for example, those who acquire tenure often try to move to more comfortable schools. Professionals are expected to address the most difficult and challenging problems of the community, yet for various reasons they often abandon the inner city. To the extent that this continues to be true, inner cities will continue to lack high-quality professional services.

- Similarly, urban universities, the custodians of much talent for research and training in their communities, are frequently detached from inner-city problems. Again, there are small thread-like contacts between urban universities and communities, mostly representing interests of individual professors of education, social work, or economics, but nothing like the broad coalition of disciplines and professions required to address inner-city problems in the spirit of the EZ/EC initiative. For the most part, universities have abandoned the inner city and turned to more convenient sites for their field work. Further, there remains a high degree of fractionalization within universities; representatives of various departments often meet as strangers when they encounter one another in community work. It is helpful to recall the work of land grant universities in the field of agriculture and in rural communities, following the Morrill Act of the last century. Comparable work is required now, we believe, to connect urban universities into broadly framed revitalization programs in the inner cities.

- Many doubt whether government offices are able to achieve cross-agency and cross-departmental coordination at the level expected in the local community. Government offices have become highly fractionated and highly adept at negotiating relationships with local agencies in very narrow ways. However, achieving comprehensive and coherent patterns of operation at the local level will be unlikely unless and until there is corresponding coordination at all levels of government. Block grants and waivers will help, but barriers to thorough-going coordination and devolution are everywhere. The challenge of change extends to high places as well as to the neighborhood.

These thoughts and observations, which have arisen from deep involvement in inner-city education, led us to propose the conference for which this paper was prepared. We are supportive of and enthusiastic about the challenges of the EZ/EC initiative; but we are also apprehensive about some of what is occurring and what it may mean if the effort fails. To test our observations and to provide background for the upcoming conference, several of the commissioned papers address topics touched upon above. This is but the first of the commissioned papers.

The Current State of Implementation at Selected EZ/EC Sites

This section examines what is, for us, a major issue at the outset of the EZ/EC initiative—the observation that the human development side of inner-city needs, particularly the needs of children and youth, has been insufficiently attended. The first task is to test the validity of our statement that programs for children have, to a large extent, lost out in EZ/EC programs. Of course, EZ/EC plans are only in the beginning stages, and in many cases it has taken time to trim down plans from EZ to EC levels. Only recently, for example, did the St. Paul, Minnesota City Council and mayor approve the allocations of EC funds to several projects. For this reason, what we observe and describe is tentative, incomplete, and very preliminary.

We have not been able to make a comprehensive survey of all 105 EZ/ECs, but we have completed the following activities:

- Read selected EZ/EC documents on file at the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).
- Read reports such as *Profiles of Planned Education Components and Best Practices* distributed by the Urban Interagency Task Force.
- Send observers to several EZ/ECs and received their reports on six major topic areas (i.e., provisions for children, youth, and families; researchers; university commitments; professional organizations; service coordination; and continuation activities).
- Discussed the EZ/EC implementations with several generalists, the Price-Waterhouse mediators contracted for by HUD, and with several federal officials.

Reading documents about EZ/ECs in central offices did not prove particularly fruitful, mainly because such documents tell more about plans than realities. In many cases, communities sought funding for $100 million Empowerment Zones, but came away with $3 million Enterprise Communities. Other disjunctions between plans and realities are represented in government files, including dozens of waiver applications, making document review a very challenging exercise. The most dependable data sources were reports of on-site visits (in Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Minneapolis/St. Paul, New York City, Philadelphia/Camden, and Portland).

We now proceed to a discussion of the six query areas that were identified for observations at the time of our EZ/EC site visits. For each topical area, we provide a few orienting comments, then a few examples about what we learned at the various sites.

Provisions for Children, Youth, and Families

There is no doubt that economic development and jobs are the priority in EZ/EC-supported programs. Programs that directly affect children, youth, and families are losing out, probably more so in Enterprise Communities than in Empowerment Zones. In many cases, applications were made for broadly envisioned Empowerment Zones, but the actual awards were for something more limited in scope. In the process of reshaping plans to the award conditions, attention to children and learning was often lost. Because programs are only now beginning in many places, we offer this summary view cautiously. Time will be required to clarify what is truly happening and the likely outcomes.

Los Angeles. In the original plan, education and family support were two of the six proposed strategies. Some funds were to be linked to the Los Angeles Educational Alliance for Restructuring Now, a broad program for changing Los Angeles schools that appears—at its early stages—to show promising results. However, funding—all of it Economic Development Initiative funds—was limited to stimulating economic development.

Minneapolis/St. Paul. Both cities applied for Empowerment Zones but received Enterprise Communities. Programs relating to children were lost in the process of downsizing to the Enterprise Community level. Several youth programs, such as job readiness and conflict resolution programs, were retained and supported. In Minneapolis, a Youth Enterprise Center is managed mainly by a teenage board, and staffed by Americorps volunteers.

Boston. Three of seven Human Development Goals and Benchmarks are related to children and youth: technology, alternative education (for out-of-school and at-risk youth), and expanded day care.

Baltimore. The board for Empowerment Zone management has no school representative, but does include a representative of Sylvan Learning Systems. A broad set of education activities was planned, but was placed on hold after funding. School boundaries were not considered in initial planning. Money is expected to fund Village Centers for family-oriented programs, but plans are required for approval.

Chicago. Youth Futures, Public Safety, and Linking Health and Human Services are three initiatives (of seven) relating to children, youth, and families. Specific developments are impressive but not widely implemented. One central issue is securing parental participation in programs—such as at Terrell Elementary School, which has introduced parenting workshops and programs on conflict resolution and crisis management. Westinghouse Vocational High School operates a Parent Resource Center that addresses student and family health issues.

Philadelphia/Camden. Needs assessments revealed pressing needs of children and lack of sites for youth activities. Programs for children started in summer and fall of 1996. Each project must be planned in detail and approved for funding. Funds are being sought for before- and after-school care, day care for young children, training for day care providers, full-day kindergarten classes and summer or year-round programs, enrichment activities, and entrepreneurial partnerships. Some schools are being used as family centers providing health care and other services.

In conclusion, provisions for children and families in Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities are uneven and generally very limited. There is, we believe, good cause for aggressive action to increase attention to children and youth within the EZ/EC framework.

Researchers

Unfortunately, there is a serious lack of participation in EZ/EC affairs by researchers. In many places, the inclusion of researchers in EZ/EC efforts is a new idea, and not always regarded favorably. We believe that researchers can be important, creative partners in complex work; however, it will be difficult to bring together researchers of varied disciplines in ways that match the comprehensive approaches of the EZ/ECs.

Portland. The Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory has been involved in the design, implementation, and evaluation of the Enterprise Community.

Philadelphia. Researchers from the City Planning Department, the public schools, and the Martin Luther King Center (in Atlanta) have been helpful in the Empowerment Zone.

The very process of conducting cross-disciplinary research in schools and in the broader life situations of children warrants research attention. What works in broadly linked judicial processes? In bringing together parents, educators, researchers, and the local business community and others? Researchers are also needed to ensure that adequate knowledge base reviews are a starting point in all projects of the inner city. For example, what do we know about preschool readiness activities that are helpful for children entering kindergarten or first grade? What do we know about the effects of teenage employment on school performance? What do we know to be effective ways to involve parents in the education of their children?

It would help serve the children and youth living in our nation's inner cities if researchers became more fully engaged in inner-city work. Making this happen will require attention to complex factors such as creating acceptance of researchers as partners and creating funding systems for multidisciplinary research.

University Commitments

For the most part, university engagements in the inner city are very limited and rarely cross-disciplinary in structure. Many individual university faculty have contacts and projects in inner cities, but coherent, broadly framed work is lacking. Within universities, there is a need to build bridges across departments, professions, and disciplines so that the complex problems of inner-city children and their families can be addressed. Although there is growing recognition of this need for greater capacity within universities to act in broad ways, the need for leadership, changed patterns of incentives, revised funding systems, and increased attention to issues of knowledge dissemination and utilization remains.

A recurring comment at EZ/EC sites was that young professionals working in inner-city settings frequently suffer rapid burnout. This problem requires attention by urban universities and all other elements of the inner-city community. We need to find ways of supporting teachers and others of high competence so that they can sustain their contributions to children and families in distressed communities.

Minneapolis. Metropolitan State University provides technical assistance for two "incubators" for business. The University of Minnesota has a newly formed cross-departmental Consortium on Children, Youth, and Families that has some connections with the Extension Services of the Agricultural Sciences. The Consortium is seeking closer ties with urban schools.

Los Angeles. University representatives met with community members in planning the initial application, but have not met since the funding announcement (as of June, 1996).

Portland. Portland Community College and Portland State University have a partnership with public schools to recruit and train minority teachers for the Enterprise Community.

Philadelphia. Personnel from several universities are helping on individual projects, e.g., Temple University's Nursing Department is contributing to a project on lead abatement, Allegheny University to one on health education, and the University of Pennsylvania to one with community schools.

Baltimore. The President of Coffin State College serves on the Board of Directors for the Empowerment Zone. Morgan State University staff are involved in a science-math initiative that hopefully will extend throughout EZ schools. An ad hoc group from two universities (University of Maryland-College Park and Towson State University) and several federal officials have met to discuss development of a research and evaluation role in the Empowerment Zone.

Chicago. Several universities have initiated partnership arrangements with schools to conduct technology-based projects.

A major effort should be made to enhance the capacity of urban universities to become active partners in EZ/ECs. A number of recommendations are offered in the "Ideas for Improvement" section, below.

Professional Organizations

It is assumed that professional organizations at all levels—local, state, and national—have important contributions to make in helping to solve the problems of distressed urban communities. Observations at the EZ/EC sites have produced little evidence of strong roles or leadership on the part of professional organizations. But the situation may be changing. For example, the American Psychological Association (APA) has launched a series of activities relating to psychology's contributions to education, and a series of programs at the 1996 APA convention focused on psychological contributions to urban education. Recent national meetings of the American Educational Research Association have featured lively discussions about how educational researchers can increase and improve their work in situations where children are vulnerable. The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development shows evidence of strong commitments to inner-city education. And the National Education Association has recently announced a new initiative in urban education.

Despite these positive examples, however, much work remains in establishing the strong presence of professional organizations in inner-city situations. One idea is for national professional organizations to join together to support systems for local affiliate organizations that support EZ/EC operations.

Service Coordination

Are the EZ/ECs effectively creating coordinated activities in the service of the children and families living in urban communities? The need to overcome fragmentation was an underlying premise in EZ/EC formation, a theme often echoed in the literature. So far, most EZ/EC governing bodies have acted much like internal foundations, seeking funds and allocating them to isolated applicant organizations. Often these governing bodies operate at central levels in very large cities, and fail to directly address the coordination problems at grassroots or casework levels. In other cities, there are promising linkage systems operating between central city and neighborhood levels. That seems to be the case, for example, in Minneapolis and in Philadelphia-Camden.

The ultimate test of coordination occurs at the level of individual children and families. Much effort is required to create the necessary links from central city to the local levels—neighborhood or sometimes school-based levels—where coordination is so essential. We have been involved in many emerging school-based collaboratives which could potentially be joined to the EZ/EC initiative. Little, however, has been observed on this front.

Coordination must remain an ongoing concern as Notices of Fund Allocations (NOFAs) are announced, as state and community resources are leveraged by the EZ/EC initiative, and as second-round federal funding is considered. It will be important to provide continued funding in ways that enhance coordination rather than fractionation of services.

Minneapolis. The initial EZ/EC plan was prepared, in part, by bringing together neighborhood planning groups and citywide planning agencies.

Boston. The Empowerment Zone program is described as helping to bring together city, school, and community officials in ways that have not previously occurred.

Portland. Regular meetings of staff of funded organizations are convened to promote interagency coordination and collaboration. The Portland Enterprise Commission includes representatives of the Portland Police Department, the North/Northeast Economic Development Alliance, the Center for Community Mental Health, the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, the Neighborhood Partnership Fund, and the Black United Fund. The Commission meets frequently to monitor progress of the Enterprise Community.

Philadelphia/Camden. A bottom-up coordination process uses volunteer block workers. The plan is for central Empowerment Zone staff to be replaced by members of the community within two years, though local staff will be able to reach out for technical assistance and consultation. The process of Empowerment Zone work has been described as helpful in coordination, and many local partnerships are developing.

Baltimore. More than 500 people contributed to initial planning, but the complexity of the governing structure makes it difficult to achieve consensus.

Chicago. Schools play a key role in screening programs for disorders of vision and hearing, in immunization programs, and in providing medical information to students and families.

Los Angeles. Mechanisms such as one-stop youth centers, one-stop capital shops, and school-to-work consortia are being set up to structure coordination and communication among multiple agencies; a central Empowerment Zone Oversight Committee will serve as the clearinghouse to monitor services and programs to see that they are systematically delivered.

Continuation Activities

The question of how effectively the EZ/ECs are preparing for continuation activities is a concern at local, state, and federal levels. What is the plan, and what is the reality of continued funding and of leadership? How will technical assistance be provided? Will EZ/ECs be interactive in designed ways so that they can be mutually helpful? How much awareness is there in each of the communities about EZ/ECs and about the provision of continuation funding? Is there a carefully developed program of evaluation for the entire EZ/EC operation, so that plans and procedures can be adapted, based on valid data?

At this early stage, there are few answers to these questions. It is clear, however, that awareness and understanding of EZ/ECs is very limited. In every site visited there were concerns about improving the level of community understanding. The likelihood of broad understanding and involvement will depend on the levels and forms of continuation funding. If the program gives indications of being significant and sustaining, awareness and participation will grow. At the present time, however, awareness is very low, as is understanding of the regularities of funding and other operating procedures. Further, there is a sense of doubt about the long-term dependability of federal funding and leadership, balanced in part by the ability of EZ/ECs in certain states and communities to leverage substantial levels of nonfederal support. Overall, this is a domain much in need of clarity, development, and strong efforts in communication that are broadly oriented to all who have a stake in urban community betterment.

Ideas for Improvement

This final section offers ideas for improvements in EZ/EC operations as they might affect children and families. These are certainly not finished proposals; rather, they are recommended topics for discussion. Some of the topics are not new, though obviously important; others will be seen as quite challenging.

Emphasize field-initiated requests/proposals for funds, rather than using centrally designed NOFAs. The idea is to maximize coherence of community developments in EZ/EC areas, recognizing that the next steps for appropriate local development may be quite different from the gradually unfolding pattern of NOFAs. There is a tendency to turn local agencies and even community-wide boards into fund-seeking operations when funding opportunities are announced in narrow ways. Instead, local agencies should seek a coherent vision of what they can and should develop and receive assistance in achieving that vision.

Use qualification criteria rather than competitive methods and criteria in awarding funds. EZ/EC personnel are rarely in a good position to write top-grade proposals for funds, and so they often lose out. The competitive framework of traditional grant and contract award processes, which turns local planning into tense contests, is far from optimal. Perhaps criteria for awards should simply include matters of credibility of design, coherence in general community planning, evidence of broad cross-agency planning, and supporting clear plans for evaluation.

Increase funds assigned to EZ/ECs (and to similar distressed areas), even at the expense of reducing funds to other areas. Too much is at stake in the most distressed areas of the nation to permit a lack of resources to become the prevailing factor. In particular, the U.S. Department of Education should assemble a much higher portion of its funds—from all subdivisions—for support of EZ/EC work.

Create a special blue-ribbon commission of top-level citizens to help lead, advocate, and monitor work related to the human development side of work in EZ/EC communities and in other distressed areas of the nation. This commission might help to cause urban universities to direct increasing attention to EZ/EC areas for research, training, and service; cause professional organizations in fields such as education, psychology, social work, pediatrics, and nursing to make concerted approaches in EZ/EC areas to help organize, upgrade, and support programs, and to prevent staff burnout; lead community awareness programs to ensure that broad understanding and supports will be offered to EZ/EC work and to kindred efforts on behalf of children in distressed areas; and design policies that will help enhance the life and learning situation of children.

Extend waiver authority of federal departments and agencies to all programs as a means of encouraging experimental work in the community. In the case of the U.S. Department of Education, the waiver authority should encompass all categorical program areas (such as special education and bilingual education). Large urban school districts often find as much as one-third of their budgets controlled by categorical federal mandates, even though funds are mainly from state and local sources. There is urgent need for more flexibility in these areas.

Create a cross-department pool of funds for research in EZ/ECs. There is a compelling need for broad and effective services for children, youth, and families. Cross-agency coalitions are developing at the community level, and a similar cross-department arrangement, encompassing research functions, is desirable in governmental offices. This would have the effect of reinforcing cross-disciplinary approaches to research in the universities. The following are examples of the kinds of research which would be expected in this framework:

- Broad, community-based systems for measuring uses of time by children (e.g., in the home, in school, in recreation) should be developed. Systematic and recurring assessments would suggest ideas for further research and community projects. Such a study might involve educators, psychologists, sociologists, economists, and others. The research effort would be a creative one, developing and testing a total system for measuring uses of time.

- A broad study should be conducted on rule-setting, informal judiciaries (e.g., at home or at school), and formal police/judicial systems as a community approach to creating safe environments, reducing crime, etc. The idea is to experiment in a total continuum of behavior management systems to discover effective approaches. This study should involve educators, sociologists, corrections specialists, and family study specialists.

- Within each community, studies of current employment and other postsecondary options for youth should be conducted, and the data transformed into effective communication formats for students and counselors. These studies might include economists, counseling psychologists, educators, and business leaders. The studies would provide realistic, up-to-date information on job opportunities in the community and job requirements.

- Studies should seek to determine what is necessary to cause increased cross-disciplinary work in universities as they seek links with community-based projects. Such a study might employ multiple case-study methods and involve several disciplines. Similar studies are needed of cross-disciplinary and cross-professional work among agencies to determine how agencies can work together, sharing resources and staff.

- Studies should examine what works toward fully involving students in creating self-awareness—for example, the use of school-based assessments to predict and plan their own futures. This idea presupposes that assessment processes are too often alien to the students themselves. Can this be changed to emphasize students' responsibility for self-understanding and planning? This study might involve educators, psychologists, sociologists, and others.

Chapter 3

Children from Zero to Six in Urban America: Challenges and Opportunities to Foster School Success

By Jane Knitzer

Children in urban America, by and large, do not fare well in school. They achieve more poorly than might be expected, and are disproportionately enrolled in special education, retained in grades, and are seen to have more behavioral and emotional problems (Knitzer, Steinberg, & Fleisch, 1991; Natriello, McDill, & Pallas, 1990). Schools serving inner-city children are often uninviting places, highlighting the inequities between the haves and the have nots (Kozol, 1991). This paper argues that there should be a focus on creating a coherent, community-based, school-linked response *before* they enter school to complement strategies focused on school-age students and on schools as part of the effort to improve outcomes for children and youth living in urban areas. This is not a new argument; indeed, a national goal declares that all children will enter school ready to learn (National Task Force on School Readiness, 1991). Translating this from goal to reality, however, has yet to happen.

This paper is organized in three sections. The first section briefly summarizes the demographic and empirical rationale for investing in young children and their families. The second section, drawing largely on recent analyses of state initiatives (Knitzer & Page, 1996) on behalf of young children and families, highlights promising state strategies that support program development and/or encourage community planning, the integration of fragmented early childhood programs at the community level, and roles for families and community stakeholders in governance, decision making, and resource allocation. The third section addresses political and design issues especially likely to affect coherent initiatives for urban families and young children before they enter school.

Why Focus on Children in the Inner Cities Before They Enter School? The Rationale from Research

Data-based reasons for focusing concentrated attention on young, low-income children before they enter school are threefold. First, poverty among young children is becoming more intense. Second, poverty, and particularly extreme poverty, coupled with other risk factors places young children at great risk of negative outcomes, including poor school performance and behavioral problems. Third, cumulative intervention research suggests that early intervention with children and their families can mitigate the effects of these risk factors and enhance learning-related outcomes. The data to support these arguments are briefly summarized below.

The Demographic Realities

A recent demographic analysis provides a sobering context for addressing issues of development and learning in the inner cities. Children under the age of 6 have the highest poverty rates of any age group of individuals—older children, adults and even the elderly (Bennett & Li, in press). Across this country, 1 in 4 children under 6 are growing up with incomes at or below the poverty level. These 6 million children, along with those in families with incomes at 185% of the poverty level, make up a staggering 45% of *all* children under six. Over 2.5 million children are living in urban poverty. Twelve percent of all children under 6, or 3 million children, are growing up in extreme poverty, in families with incomes at or less than half of the poverty level. In most inner cities, the patterns are even more troubling. Figure 1 illustrates the extreme poverty, poverty, and near poverty rates for children growing up in the eight federally-funded Empowerment Zone cities. In Detroit, for example, 3 out of 4 young children (77%) under 6 are growing up in poverty or near poverty, 1.5 times that of the national average. More than half are experiencing extreme poverty. Extreme poverty among young children is growing twice as fast as poverty among less poor children.

What Research Suggests: Poverty-Related Effects

An emerging body of research is providing new understandings of how poverty-related risks affect outcomes for children and families (Brooks-Gunn, Klebanov, Liaw, & Duncan, 1995; McLoyd, 1990; Rutter, 1979; Sameroff & Fiese, 1990); how neighborhoods affect outcomes for low-income children and families, independently of family influences and in interactions with familial child rearing strategies (Gephart, in press); and how poverty itself affects developmental outcomes (McLoyd, 1990). Much of the research on developmental pathways and poverty is focused on older children and adolescents (Aber, Seidman, Allen, Mitchell, & Garfinkel, in press; Aber, 1994; Tolan & Gorman-Smith, in press;

Tolan, Guerra, & Montaini-Klovdahl, in press). Some research, however, is focused on young children and their families (Brooks-Gunn et al., 1995; Coulton, 1995).

In light of the demographic realities just highlighted, and perhaps most sobering, Duncan and his colleagues have found that income deprivation in the earliest years seems to have a long-term effect on school-related behavior, particularly high school completion (Duncan, Yeung, Brooks-Gunn, & Smith, 1996). Using longitudinal data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, they also found that even relatively small incremental changes in income during the first five years significantly changes the odds of high school completion. Given the loss of any guarantee of income support for children as a result of recent welfare changes, this finding seems especially significant.

There are also several other streams of relevant research. Survey data from teachers indicate that kindergarten children are entering school less prepared to cope with academic work than in the past, and more likely to manifest very challenging, often disruptive, but sometimes anxious and depressed behaviors (Achenbach & Howell, 1993; Boyer, 1991). While these data hold for both middle-class and low-income children, the patterns are more marked with low-income children. Other data are particularly dramatic for children and families living in urban areas. There, the concentration of chronic community violence, elevated levels of family violence, and widespread substance abuse take a particularly great toll on both adults and children. Recent research, for example, is beginning to document in careful ways the sophistication of the coping strategies that families and adolescents use, while at the same time stressing that these strategies may be adaptive in the short term (keeping children out of school to avoid gangs or drug dealers, for example, or eliminating outdoor play), but dysfunctional in the longer term (Tolan et al., in press). Research is also uncovering the toll that living in areas of intense urban distress has on younger children and their families, as well as the staff who work with them (Groves, Zuckerman, Marans, & Cohen, 1993; Yoshikawa & Knitzer, in press). Especially among young children, growing up and living in the inner city can be so stressful, this toll is sometime reflected in symptoms of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder.

What Research Suggests: Intervention Effects

Data drawn from over 30 years of research on the effects of interventions with young children and their families document that providing quality developmental and learning opportunities for young children and their families enhances later school learning (for the most recent reviews, see Barnett, 1995; Frede, 1995; and Yoshikawa, 1994). A similar pattern has been found in international studies (Boocock, 1995; Young, 1996). Quality interventions have been shown to increase school readiness, promote timely school enrollment, lower repetition and dropout rates, and improve academic skills, nutrition, and health. The findings are not unequivocally positive. Further, the strongest effects tend to be in the most high quality, carefully controlled interventions that do not replicate conditions in the real world (Gomby, Larner, Stevenson, Lewitt, & Behrman, 1995; Larner, Halpern, & Harkavy, 1992). Moreover a recent analysis indicates that the interventions that seem most effective in reducing the risk of antisocial behavior focus on both the child and the family (Yoshikawa, 1994). Some cost benefit analyses suggest that for every dollar spent, $7.16 is saved, causing some to make reasoned arguments that the United States is underinvesting in young children (Barnett, 1995). Taken together, the case for investing in young children and their families is hard to ignore.

Much of the intervention research summarized above has focused on preschoolers. But as developmental understandings of the magnitude of social, emotional, and cognitive learning that occurs in the earliest years has grown (Zero To Three, 1993), a new generation of intervention research is focusing on the effects of interventions with infants and toddlers. One such study, using a sample of 111 low-income African-American children and families, examined four treatment conditions. One group was offered early educational experiences starting in infancy and continuing through the preschool years. In addition, during the first three years of elementary school, a home resource teacher was available to help parents foster learning activities. A second group was only offered interventions lasting from infancy through age 5. A third group was offered only the home resource teacher during beginning school years, and a fourth group received no intervention at all. The children who only received services while they were school-aged did not fare significantly better than those who received no services. The children who received services for a significant part of their first six years, however, outscored the control group in mathematics and reading, and were less likely to be placed in special-education or retained in grade at age 15. In other words, the early intervention appeared to be most powerful in setting the stage for later successful learning (Campbell & Ramey, 1994; Cohen, 1993). Generalizations about school effects, however, should be modest. A home resource teacher is quite different from a more comprehensive school-based initiative, such as that being undertaken by the Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group (1992).

The eight-site (including one inner-city site) Infant Health and Development Program also focused on infants and toddlers, and was designed to test the extent to which potentially harmful developmental and emotional sequelae of low birthweight babies could be mitigated by intensive early intervention. All of the infants received monitoring and assessment, one-third also received home visitation services, and later, center-based child development services, both organized around a child development curriculum. Expanding the typical child-only research lens, impacts on both mothers and children were assessed, as were the effects of particular neighborhood characteristics. Findings include: positive and significant child-related gains at least in the short term (which is as long as data are available) (Infant Health and Development Program, 1990); modest but significant impacts on subsequent maternal employment (Brooks-Gunn, McCormick, Shapiro, Benasich, & Black, 1994); and distinct neighborhood effects (Brooks-Gunn et al., 1995).

That early intervention appears to positively affect maternal employment is particularly interesting given current expectations that mothers of even the youngest poor children work. These findings have been identified in a number of intervention efforts (Brooks-Gunn et al., 1994), yet this has never been viewed as part of the rationale for building child- and family-focused interventions. Given the recent welfare changes that require women to work, coupled with the fact that at least a subset of mothers are not "job-ready," the findings that early intervention positively affects maternal employment is another potentially powerful rationale for investing in both child- and family-focused early interventions.

It is also interesting to note that while earlier studies often searched for long-term and dramatic effects, emphasis in current research is on the processes by which early effects have impacts, particularly in the early grades. So, for example, Entwistle (1995) examines the role of schools in sustaining or diffusing early effects. A large study focused explicitly on the transition from Head Start to school should shed even more light on this.

Interventions for Young Children and Families: Real-world Implications

Taken together, the cumulative data on the impact of evaluated interventions with young children and families, and the growing understanding of how the earliest years, infancy, and toddlerhood set the stage for later cognitive and emotional development, put in sharp relief some real-world perspectives on educational interventions for young children and families.

First, although research is clear about the benefits of educational early intervention, in the real world access to such programs continues to be a major problem, marked by great income-linked variation. So, for example, a recent report from the U.S. Department of Education highlights the sad reality that children whose parents have incomes over $50,000 are three times as likely to have access to center-based early childhood programs, defined as Head Start, prekindergarten, and nursery school (The National Center for Education Statistics, 1996) (see Figure 2). In fact, this has recently prompted the Carnegie Corporation to call for universal preschool for 3- and 4-year-olds (Task Force on Learning in the Primary Grades, 1996).

Second, one of the clear themes from intervention research literature is that quality counts, and that not any program will do. Yet child care and preschool programs continue to be plagued by major quality concerns. Recent research, for example, has found significant quality issues in both center-based and family child care (Adams & Sandfort, 1992; Cost, Quality, and Child Outcomes Study Team, 1995; Galinsky et al., 1994). And even Head Start has focused new attention on quality issues, which is deemed by most observers highly uneven (Advisory Committee on Head Start Quality and Expansion, 1994). In the early days of Head Start, there was a strong, regionally-based technical assistance network. Now, although there are regional staff, they rarely have the opportunity to do anything but crisis intervention, and national contractors provide technical assistance, largely through manuals (Task Force on Head Start and Mental Health, 1994). This growing concern about the importance of quality comes at a time when attention to quality is politically tenuous. For example, in the most recent welfare related legislation, although there has been an increase in funding for child care, funds to improve the quality of child care actually have been reduced by $38 million.

Third, the research literature also has implications for program design. Research suggests that the strongest early interventions are those that combine a child focus with a family focus, taking what has been called a "two generation" approach (Smith, 1995). This is also consistent with the emerging practice-based attention to family support strategies (Kagan & Weissbourd, 1994). The growing body of research on neighborhood effects also suggests that child- and family-focused interventions are not enough, and that efforts to focus on changing community risk factors should also be part of a comprehensive intervention framework, especially in inner-city neighborhoods (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klebanov, & Sealand, 1993; Gephardt, in press; Chase Lansdale, Gordon, Brooks-Gunn, & Klebanov, in press). Finally, recent research focusing on transitions suggests the potential importance of careful links between schools and the early childhood network of services and supports (Love, Aber, & Brooks-Gunn, 1994; Love, Lougue, Trudeau, & Thayer, 1992).

In sum, the available data suggest that a sustained and coherent effort to enhance developmental and learning outcomes for young children, and a context that takes into account their families and neighborhoods, may set the stage for continuing positive gains. Focusing on young children and their families in poverty in general, or in the inner city in particular, is no magic bullet. It is not a substitute for improving schools, building the economic base of poor communities, or making communities safer. However, it should be a central part of a deliberate, focused strategy to address poverty in America in general, and inner-city communities in particular.

Promising Approaches: Lessons from the Field

If interventions with younger children, and especially those in inner cities, are necessary, how should they be shaped and crafted to use the best existing knowledge and to be responsive to particular community needs and political realities? Three sets of recent experiences provide a rich set of possibilities: state initiatives, foundation initiatives, and, although more sketchily, school-based initiatives.

State Initiatives

Recently the National Center for Children in Poverty released a report entitled *Map and Track: State Initiatives for Young Children and Families* (Knitzer & Page, 1996). This report profiles specific programs as well as state and community planning/service integration strategies on a state-by-state basis. According to the data from *Map and Track*, states are supporting three general types of programs for young children: Head Start or prekindergarten type programs for 3- to 5-year-olds; home visiting programs for infants and toddlers; and programs focused on helping adults either through parent education programs or family support programs (for example, neighborhood-based resource centers for parents of young children, or for special groups of parents such as teen parents). Three quarters of the states are targeting these programs to preschoolers. One-third of the states are also supporting programs for infants and toddlers. A handful of states, recognizing the importance of sustained intervention, are consciously trying to build interventions across the age span.

Many of the programs that states support either replicate or grow out of nationally recognized program models (see Table 1 for an overview of these models). Healthy Families programs are home visiting programs designed to help young, poor, stressed families cope with the demands of raising infants. A national evaluation is currently under way. The original model in Hawaii has recognized not only the power of the basic intervention, but also the need to build in strategies to respond to especially stressed and burdened families. The Hawaii data suggest that one-third of the families face such complex or intense emotional challenges in nurturing their children that one site has an on-staff psychologist to consult with the home visitors and, if necessary, work directly with the families (Wallach & Lister, 1995). Particularly difficult situations seemed related to parental early loss or abuse experiences, depression, and/or current involvement in violent relationships and/or substance abuse. In this instance, as Hawaii goes, so go other communities as well, with these patterns reported informally from service providers all over the country.

Home Instructional Program for Preschool Youngsters (HIPPY) and Parents as Teachers (PAT) are both programs that focus on helping parents build the capacity of their children to learn. HIPPY focuses on 4- and 5-year-old children, and was first developed in Israel. PAT focuses on children from birth to age 5, and is grounded in the conviction that parents are children's first teachers. Most recently, PAT has developed (and in evaluations, shown success with) strategies for working in areas with intense concentrations of poverty. Family Support Programs have emerged during the past decade partly as a corrective to what has been perceived as a rigid social services structure that focused only on deficits in poor families. Originally informal, neighborhood grassroots efforts—increasingly, schools, public housing, and neighborhood centers—are developing family-friendly, often family-driven support programs that try to meet families' needs without pejorative labels or stigma. Kentucky, for example, has seeded a network of Family Resource Centers as part of the Kentucky Education Reform Act. Similarly, Connecticut has developed a network of Parent Education and Support Centers that are part of local schools. In both instances, there are requirements for a special focus on younger children.

Head Start, perhaps the best known model, originally focused on 4-year-olds. Head Start now sees itself as a family of programs, some of which are home-based, some center-based. As of 1995, 15 states, including 3 with federally-funded Empowerment Zones, supplement Head Start with state dollars (Knitzer & Page, 1996). The preschool Head Start program has become a model for state-supported pre-kindergarten programs, a number of which use Head Start-type education, parent involvement, social services, nutrition, and physical and mental health performance standards. Head Start has recently supported a network of Early Head Start programs. These programs, in a framework highly relevant to young children in inner cities, are charged to focus on four "pillars of early childhood:" child development, family development, staff development, and community development.

At first glance, home visiting, family support, parent education, and prekindergarten program approaches seem quite different. Indeed, even within program type there is great variation from one state to another in the specific characteristics of the program supported, in the eligibility criteria and in the access to training. And yet, across the country, an interesting pattern is emerging. Single strategy approaches (e.g., parent education, child care alone, pre-K programs without a family component) are giving way to more complex, interrelated and comprehensive efforts designed to meet both child- and family-focused needs. Increasingly, all early childhood programs reflect four shared functions: (a) fostering healthy, age-appropriate child skills and competencies; (b) enhancing adult skills and competencies; (c) nurturing parent-child relationships and understandings of how children develop; and (d) helping families access specialized services when necessary.

While it sounds simple to embed multiple functions into a strength-based philosophy, in actuality it is not, particularly when families are especially stressed and/or involved in violence, substance abuse, and/or depression. Experience and research suggests that the key to success is forming relationships with the families, and/or enabling the families to develop strong and growing relationships among themselves (Barnard & Morissei, 1995; Johnston, 1990; Yoshikawa & Knitzer, in press; Zero to Three, 1993). In one Head Start program, for example, program families were used to engage and mentor other families who had been involved in abuse and neglect, and typically did not seek out Head Start (Fantuzzo, Coolahan, & Weiss, in press). At another Head Start program, staff undertook an effort to refocus their traditional service approach and test out new strategies for working with "hard-to-engage families" in their program, defined as parents too depressed to engage with the program or the children. Even as programs focus on relationships, however, they do not ignore skill-building. In one Head Start program, for example, as the staff changed to a strength-based orientation, they invited the families to set up a resource bank to teach each other skills they had (Yoshikawa & Knitzer, in press). Another Head Start program has joined with a particularly innovative job training program in which parents get ready for jobs by carrying out tasks as Head Start parents (Herr, Halpern, & Majeske, 1994).

In a Head Start program serving homeless families, teachers role play parent-teacher conferences, helping parents whose own experience with school has not necessarily been positive to rehearse a different approach for their own children (Yoshikawa & Knitzer, in press). The most effective programs, particularly those in inner cities, are anchored in a community context, building on and drawing on community leadership (Whitelaw Downs, 1994). They are, as Hess and her colleagues note, both "in" and "of" the community (Hess, McGowan & Meyer, 1996). Further, it is becoming increasingly clear that programs serving young children and families need to pay special attention to fathers, encouraging sustained and positive relationships that fathers have with their children, and addressing adult development issues, including literacy and job training (Levine, Murphy, & Wilson, 1994).

System-building and Community-based Strategies

There can be no question that the anchor of any effective response to the needs of young children and families, especially those in the inner city, is ensuring access to solid programs that are responsive to children, their families, and the community. But that alone is not enough. In reality, programs for young children and families are afflicted by the same fragmentation that affects programs for older children, and parents have to manage an unmanageable system, often, for example, moving children from half-day to full-day programs, and in some communities, even being visited by multiple "home visitors." Two kinds of disconnects are particularly visible. First, there is often a disconnect between individual early care and education programs. Even in the same community, for example, child care and Head Start programs have no way of sharing resources, joining together to address gaps in services, or facilitating extended days for children.

The second disconnect is in the capacity to help young children, families, and staff cope with issues of substance abuse, depression, or violence. Mental health agencies, substance abuse agencies, and even child protective agencies typically have not been linked to provide help to early childhood program staff, or sometimes the families themselves. In addition, they typically are not part of any existing early care and education community interagency networks. There are some exceptions, such as an exemplary child care consulting service out of the San Francisco General Hospital (Johnston, 1990), or Project Before, a newly implemented regional initiative in southeastern Kansas spearheaded by the mental health system to address the needs of families with young children especially at risk by virtue of mental health related or substance abuse related issues. These exceptions, however, are rare. The more typical scenario is that families with young children are referred to substance abuse or mental health agencies, but frequently they do not go (Yoshikawa & Knitzer, in press).

Efforts to address both these issues are taking many different forms. Thus, *Map and Track* indicates that 40% of the states have seeded some kind of either state-level, or more importantly, community-level planning, and partnership-building projects. Some of these are focused on all-age children, often with requirements that there be special attention to young children. Others focus explicitly on young children. These planning efforts vary in scope and focus. Some are charged to plan for block grants, others to carry out needs assessments. Many involve setting shared community goals and priorities for young children. Anecdotal reports suggest that community planning and partnership vehicles work best in smaller areas. The most comprehensive combine state-level planning strategies with community-based strategies both to integrate services and enhance community engagement. To date, there has been no special examination of how these state-generated initiatives work in urban areas, although the National Center for Children in Poverty (NCCP) is planning a follow-up community focused initiative building on *Map and Track*.

Putting It All Together: Comprehensive Initiatives

During the past decade, it has become increasingly clear that just as single-issue-focused programs do not have the desired effect, so too, one-dimensional reform efforts do not yield the intended effects. Rebuilding schools, human service structures, and communities to be more responsive to the realities of family need, community distress, and the institutional impacts of poverty requires a multidimensional effort that includes the following components: (a) attention to program-related issues (e.g., does the program focus on strengths or deficits? Is the staff adequately trained and supported?); (b) community engagement issues (e.g., building leadership capacity from among those most directly affected; engaging the broadest constituency possible to provide the political will and understanding to support the effort over time; developing a shared vision); and (c) articulating and assessing measurable goals or developing some other form of visible and significant accountability (Melaville, Blank, & Asayesh, 1993).

In response, a small number of states have mounted comprehensive, state-generated initiatives (Knitzer & Page, 1996). These include state-level, high visibility leadership at the political and management level, program development strategies, and community building efforts. Georgia, for example, which is also an Empowerment Zone state, has supported the rapid expansion of the Voluntary Prekindergarten Program. Reflecting much of the best learning from the field, this program requires that children receive basic health and dental screenings, nutritious meals, home visits to families if they wish, parental access to adult-focused services such as literacy or job training, and, if necessary, access to mental health, drug treatment, or crisis intervention programs through family service coordinators. Georgia is also continuing to support the statewide expansion of Healthy Families Georgia, a home visiting program for high-risk first-time parents that is modeled after Healthy Families Hawaii. In addition, there is a state-level policy council and multi-county initiative to build community collaborations and integrate service delivery systems and planning for children (although Atlanta is not one of the demonstration sites). Comprehensive initiatives focusing on young children and families such as those in Georgia and other states have evolved over time, with leadership seizing opportunities to "build on" new opportunities as they emerge.

Foundation Initiatives

Foundations have been a particularly important catalyst for multi-dimensional reform efforts. Until recently, most of these challenges focused on older children. For example, New Futures, funded by the Annie E. Casey Foundation (Nelson, 1996), sought to bring a community focus to enhancing outcomes for youth. Similarly, the Robert Wood Johnson Mental Health Services for Children Program challenged communities to develop new service and funding strategies for children with serious emotional or behavioral disorders, bringing together service providers and families in new ways (Beachler, 1990; Knitzer, 1993). The Annie E. Casey Foundation Urban Children's Mental Health Initiative was implemented in inner-city communities in Boston, Miami, and Houston. Rather than focusing in a narrow way on defined mental health issues, the initiative has taken more of a community mental health perspective, focusing on building strong community leadership, ensuring responsiveness to community voices, and addressing broader quality of life community issues. Thus it not only has the potential to inform other inner-city initiatives, but also might serve as a framework for a special component targeted to young children and families.

Perhaps most significantly, the Carnegie Corporation in 1995 provided a direct challenge to states and communities to focus on the youngest children and their families, from birth to age 3. Using the recommendations from their Starting Points report (Carnegie Task Force on Meeting the Needs of Young Children, 1994), the foundation funded 16 sites (5 cities and 11 states) to develop coherent, comprehensive strategies to enhance outcomes for children from birth to three and their families. Of particular relevance to young children in inner cities, three of the sites are part of the federally-funded Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community (EZ/EC) initiative. Atlanta, for example, expects to test strategies to ensure that all newborns and their families are screened and that their families are offered supports through a Family Resource Center by building on the kinds of initiatives already highlighted in Georgia. Baltimore is adding case management and community building components to its Healthy Start programs, and is targeting all birth to 3-year-olds and their families in two neighborhoods that are also in a federally-funded Empowerment Zone. And Boston, in a project entitled "Connecting the Dots," is focusing on creating a service and community network out of the many fragmented services and coalitions that already exist.

These efforts illustrate an important principle. In all instances, the cities are using the Starting Points initiative as a catalyst to build on what already exists. This is the same productive "seize the opportunity" mentality that is visible in the state initiatives, and it reflects a more realistic approach to long-term change than the notion that one initiative can "do it all." It only works, however, if there is a longer-term vision of what needs to be done. One could imagine that as the children served by Healthy Start grow into preschoolers, another catalyst—the city, a foundation, the school district—might surface with an invitation (and resources) to help forge stronger links across the child care, preschool and Head Start community. Indeed, in Baltimore, an Early Head Start is already part of the Starting Points initiative.

School-based Initiatives

Finally, there are a set of initiatives in which the schools serve specifically as key partners (Behrman, 1992), although there has been no explicit national study of issues relating to urban efforts. With respect to young children, Florida's Early Childhood Collaboration Grants help communities collaborate with different early care and education programs (Knitzer & Page, 1996), and a Philadelphia school-linked young children's initiative also appears to be promising. For example, the Florida State Department of Education has provided funds to 36 counties. To be eligible, a community must secure the participation of the local child care resource and referral agency, the local Head Start grantee, the local office of subsidized child care, the local school district's prekindergarten program, and other local participants. There are other, similar opportunities waiting to happen. For example, in California, Healthy Start sites[1] might build in a young child component, with particular emphasis on urban areas. Taken together, the message is clear. There is a compelling body of emerging evidence and experience that could be applied in a more focused manner on behalf of young children and their families living in urban America, particularly in the inner cities where there are the most concentrated levels of children at risk of educational failure.

Implementation Issues, Challenges, and Unexploited Opportunities

Lessons from systems change efforts over the past decade carry a consistent message, perhaps best articulated by Nelson in recent reflections on the New Futures and other Annie E. Casey Initiatives (1996). That is, changing levels of community engagement, mobilizing political will, and changing service strategies to be more supportive of families and children is labor intensive, slow, and beset with political and bureaucratic pitfalls. And this frequently is in areas where familial and community risk factors are not as concentrated as they are in the inner cities. Working in the inner city poses the same issues of quality program implementation, community engagement, leadership-building capacity, and resource development. But it also raises different ones, largely related to the concentrations of distress in both families and communities. Therefore, this section focuses on some of the potential implementation challenges and pitfalls that are likely to be significant issues in inner cities above and beyond those already identified, as well as possible ways to mitigate such potential obstacles. It concludes with a reminder of the opportunity afforded to create living laboratories through EZ/ECs to strategically and systematically focus attention on enhancing outcomes for young children and families living in urban poverty in our nation's inner cities.

Assessing Political Opportunities and Constraints

Three levels of opportunities and constraints are especially relevant to mobilizing a more effective response to young children and families living in inner cities: (a) those related to the particular local culture and politics; (b) those related to the larger state context, particularly as it affects young children and their families; and (c) those related to devolution and the recent dramatic changes in federal welfare programs, particularly the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act, P. L. 94-193.

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[1] In California, Healthy Start is a school-linked service integration effort now in counties across the state.

The Local Context

Mapping the local political culture, leadership, and resources is essential to developing a point of entry and a vision for focusing on young children and families in the inner cities. At the same time, it is also likely that inner cities seeking to develop deliberate initiatives on behalf of young children and families will encounter some predictable resistance, at least lack of understanding of the urgency of the challenge in trying to mobilize political will. For example, a recent report (State Legislative Leaders Foundation, 1995) suggests that many state-elected officials lack any in-depth understanding of children's policy issues, although they understand that education is important. Similarly, urban leaders often seem unaware of the need to invest in more than basic health, shelter and child care (of any quality) for infants, toddlers, and preschoolers. Thus, in a recent statement, the mayor of New York City suggested separating Head Start from child care, arguing that Head Start was a children's service, and child care a welfare service. The mayor has not been made aware of the fact that all children need appropriate developmental experiences that include enriched child-focused activities, coupled with family supports, that the same children enrolled in Head Start are often enrolled in subsidized child care, and that at least half of Head Start parents have been enrolled in Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC).

A recent Action Agenda on Urban Education by the U.S. Conference of Mayors (1996) called for broad ranging reforms of the schools, but was silent on school-linked activities on behalf of young children. With the exception of education and child protection services, political attention and a focus on infrastructure/development issues relating to children in urban areas is minimal. Thus, ironically, in a recent report by the National League of Cities (Meyers & Kyle, 1996), a survey of cities found that child care was reported as the number one problem. Yet virtually no city reported any special child-care linked initiative. Finally, in a different arena, while there are no data, some who work with school personnel have informally reported that many school officials have only a sketchy understanding of the "learning life" (Ginsburg, 1989) of infants, toddlers, and preschoolers and how it is related to later school performance. This, too, takes on particular significance at the local level when school involvement can be so critical.

What this suggests is that a focused "urban awareness" campaign is in order, making the case for early intervention with young children and families in urban areas that is based on demographic, research, and practice realities. In the absence of this kind of effort, it is likely that we will once again have a cycle of limited approaches, rather than neighborhood-based efforts that grow into citywide commitments with infrastructure supports. In New York City, for example, such a trajectory can be traced through the rise (Thompson & Molnar, 1987) and fall of Project Giant Step, which was intended to be a city-based Head

Start supplement, but faltered due to lack of support and understanding from the political community.

The State Context

With respect to challenges and opportunities at the state level, *Map and Track* suggests there is potentially much to build on. For example, seven of the eight Empowerment Zone states are supporting prekindergarten initiatives, although these vary widely in scope and structure. Some states require comprehensive services, including health, dental care screenings, nutrition, parent involvement and other family support services, while others simply encourage them. Most interesting in terms of the potential to link a program and community-building strategy is Massachusetts' Community Partnerships for Children Program (Knitzer & Page, 1996). The Massachusetts State Department of Education makes grants to selected local partnerships of child care providers, Head Start programs, and schools to enable them to develop and implement joint plans to improve and coordinate education, and health and social services for families with young children. From the perspective of strengthening inner-city initiatives, an overview of state-by-state efforts highlights the need at the local level to identify existing or potential state opportunities that could serve as the source of supplemental resources to build a more coherent strategy.

The Federal Context

With respect to federal-level changes and their impact on and within states and local communities, the situation is in a state of flux. Of particular concern is the impact of P.L. 94-193, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996. That law eliminates the entitlement for needy children and families, and instead provides a block grant to the states to be used to implement its Temporary Assistance To Needy Families Program (TANF) (Children's Defense Fund, 1996). States are required to implement rigorous work requirements for the TANF clients, and to impose strict time limits (either cash or other aid must be limited to any two-year period, and overall to a five-year lifetime limit). Unlike current law, there is no guarantee of either basic support or help with child-care costs for families receiving TANF, and no mandatory transitional child care when parents work. Nor is there any designated support for training or education. In addition, the TANF requirements, as well as those of other related welfare programs, such as Supplemental Social Security (SSI) and Food Stamps, will hit legal immigrants particularly harshly. Thus, to the extent that there are legal immigrants in inner cities, the burden on the state and community will increase.

It is also relevant that the state has the option of exempting women with infants up to 1-year-old from the work requirements. Otherwise, women are required to work when infants are 12 weeks old. Since formal, regulated child care is least available and of the poorest quality for infants, this too poses a challenge to EZ/ECs and indeed the country, depending upon the number of states that choose not to exempt new mothers.

Exactly how these welfare changes will affect inner cities will vary depending upon how the state plans to meet its responsibility to needy families. One potentially promising aspect of the bill (although this can also be seen as a negative) is that although the state must demonstrate that its plan is fair, it does not have to treat all jurisdictions in the same way. This opens the way, for example, for a more universal and concentrated initiative in areas with intense concentrations of poverty, such as inner cities, perhaps through public/private partnerships.

Designing and Supporting Program, Community, and System-Change Strategies for Young Children and Families in the Inner Cities

Living in poverty is harsh in any setting, but the concentration of chronic community violence as well as elevated levels of family violence and widespread substance abuse takes a particularly great toll on both adults and children, including, as noted above, young children in inner cities. Coupled with the loss of jobs and the flight of more affluent members of the same ethnic groups (Gephart, in press), these risk factors set the stage for considering four special design and implementation issues for initiatives involving young inner-city children and their families.

First, program strategies must be responsive to these harsh realities and are consistent with principles of adult learning and development as well as child development. They need to be strength-based, while acknowledging the very difficult problems facing some families, particularly those most affected by substance abuse. Program strategies also need to be realistic about the fact that for many families, hassles and struggles (often fueled by lack of easy transportation and/or tenuous housing) make daily survival an issue, along with the predictable life crises that every family experiences. In addition, they need to have mechanisms to address culture- and class-based clashes, particularly about discipline. Given that staff working with young children and families often have relatively little training and limited opportunities to enhance their skills, the need for on-site and ongoing back-up and support, as well as access to special help if necessary, assumes critical proportions.

This, in turn, means that there must be a heightened effort to pay close attention to the relationships among families and providers of services and supports. Although the rhetoric of "enabling and empowering families" is now popular, and politically correct language refers to "consumers," rather than clients, actually helping families, particularly those with serious problems, in ways that are respectful of their strengths, their culture and their priorities is not always easy. Our research with Head Start programs (Yoshikawa & Knitzer, in press) and the research of Zero To Three with programs for infants and toddlers suggests that one of the most crucial ingredients is often missing—"reflective supervision" (Fenichel, 1992)—that is, giving those who work with the families a chance to reflect on the experience through the eyes of the families as well as through their own experience, to problem solve and provide new energies to those whose daily work is intense, often stressful, and always underappreciated.

The second imperative that also grows out of the realities of inner-city life is the need to focus not just on children and families, but also on neighborhood issues in at least two central ways. One way to develop a set of program-grounded strategies that build leadership capacity in the families involved with the program is through their participation in all aspects of program activities, including involvement in research projects, governance, etc. John McKnight (1995) suggests that just as every individual has capacities and deficiencies, so, too, every community has hospitality and rejection. Families may need "community guides" (sometimes called mentors, homebuilders, or paraprofessionals) who are indigenous to the community to help navigate the terrain of community hospitality and avoid the pitfalls of rejection. The community guide develops a positive relationship with the family and helps the family to become self-sufficient in their environment. A program serving young children and families should be a training ground for identifying and instructing these guides, as well as helping families become potential school and community leaders.

Another way to ensure opportunities for families to address neighborhood- and community-based issues is to link with or create forums for mobilizing action. While this is consistent with long-standing Head Start approaches to family involvement, not all early childhood programs integrate a community perspective, even in inner cities. So, for example, in a recent visit to a relatively well-funded, comprehensive inner-city child development program, the author of this paper had a conversation with the program directors about the difficulty of sustaining parental involvement. In response to a question about what seemed to engage the mothers, I was told that they were all very concerned about violence and wanted to develop a Task Force. The program staff, however, felt this was beyond the scope of the program guidelines and refused to do this in the context of the program. Clearly, this was a missed opportunity to engage families. It was also, in fact, a misreading of the guidelines. The result: a not very successful inner-city program and a poor expenditure of public dollars.

A third imperative for inner-city initiatives is to deliberately create strategies to return income to the community, whether through individual program job generation, links with larger community development mechanisms, or other approaches. This is not something that those involved with children's services generally consider. However, turning the spotlight on human service programs as a tool to reinvest in inner cities even as businesses are asked to reinvest seems very important. Analyses of expenditures for children in out-of-home placement, for example, have highlighted that most if not all of these dollars leave the community, even though there is a capacity to help children and families at risk of out-of-home placement within the community. Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities seem to be particularly well-suited to serve as laboratories to develop some of these strategies because community reinvestment and development is so central to their mission (although for the Empowerment Zones, the only specific requirement related to young children is to child care [Fuchs & Thompson, 1996]). Preliminary conversations with Empowerment Zone sites, however, suggest that in some places links with the early childhood community to start a specific child care initiative are only on paper. Most movement in the EZ/EC cities seems to be toward economic development rather than social capital development.

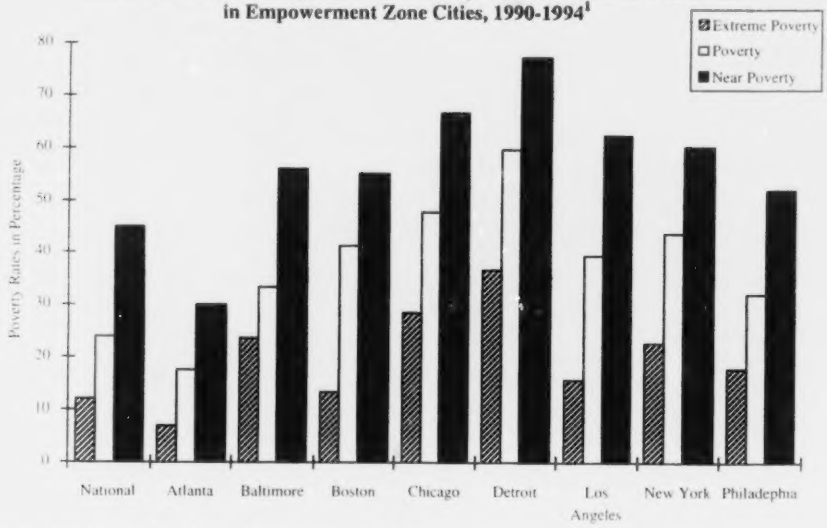
A fourth imperative is to focus careful attention on building a system of supports and services for young children and families, not just a series of programs and program-by-program case managers. This requires building a broad network of supports and services, including, for example, community leaders, families, Head Start, informal care providers, well-baby clinics personnel, managed care providers, and court personnel. In New York State, the Permanent Judicial Commission on Justice for Children has been a catalyst for the development of child care centers in the courts. It also tried to develop strategies to use these centers to help families link with ongoing early childhood programs. This is in response to a stunning finding that 85% of children whose families are involved in family court proceedings were not involved in any formal early care or education programs. Such community networks should address more technical service integration issues, and forge linkages with larger community forums for addressing economic issues and monitoring the impacts of devolution and welfare changes at the most local, neighborhood level.

Conclusion

This paper highlights the urgency of crafting "street smart" interventions for young children and their families that take into account both the strengths of urban communities and the harsh realities of life as they affect urban families and their young children before they enter school. It also highlights opportunities to build on empirical and experiential knowledge from research, as well as from state and foundation initiatives. And finally, our hope is that it will serve to stimulate action by the policy, research, and foundation community, and more particularly by those in the EZ/ECs.

Figure 1

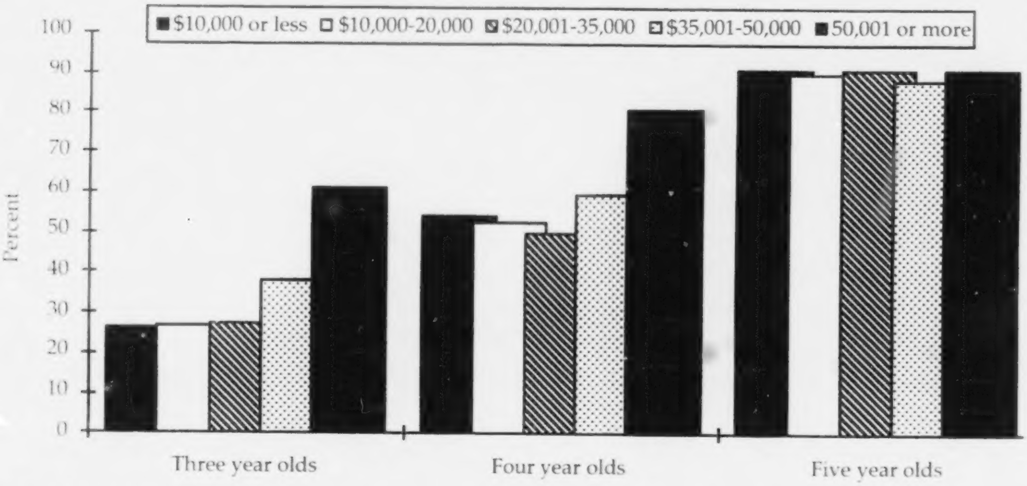
Extreme Poverty, Poverty, and Near Poverty Rates of Children Under Six in Empowerment Zone Cities, 1990-1994[1]



Source: One in Four: America's Youngest Poor (Bennett and Li, In Press)

Figure 2

Percent of 3-, 4-, and 5-Year-Olds Enrolled in Center-based Care[2] or Kindergarten in 1995 by Income of Parents



[2] Center based care programs include nursery, prekindergarten, and Head Start.
Source: The Condition of Education 1996 (U.S. Department of Education, 1996)

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[1] Source: Bennett, N. & Li, J. (1996). *One in Four: America's Youngest Poor*. New York: National Center for Children in Poverty, Columbia University School of Public Health.

[2] Center-based care programs include nursery, prekindergarten, and Head Start. Source: U. S. Department of Education. (1996). *The Condition of Education 1996*. Washington, DC: Author.

Table 1
Examples of Nationally Recognized Program Models

Head Start	**Home Instructional Program for Preschool Youngsters (HIPPY)**	**Parents as Teachers (PAT)**	**Family Support Programs**	**Healthy Families America**
Launched in 1965 by the federal Office of Economic Opportunity as an eight-week summer program designed to help break the generational cycle of poverty by providing low-income preschool children with a comprehensive program to meet their emotional, psychological, social, health, and nutritional needs.	Provides a two-year family literacy and parenting education program for parents and their four- and five-year-old children through home visits and bi-monthly group meetings.	Designed as a home-school-community partnership to provide all parents of children from ages birth to five.	Build relationships with families that depart from those of traditional social service agencies by emphasizing quality, respect, and the building of trust over time between families and staff.	Provides services through home visits focusing on parenting skills, child development, child health, and other aspects of family functioning, using intensive, comprehensive, long-term, flexible, and culturally appropriate approaches.
Currently offers full-year and in some cases full-day services to low-income children nationwide, supported by an annual federal appropriation of $4.2 billion in 1995.	Promotes school readiness by enhancing parents' involvement in their children's academic success.	Based on the philosophy that parents are their children's first and most influential teachers.	Emphasize that the family is the most important and effective resource available to any individual child.	Seeks to ensure that all new parents, particularly those facing the greatest challenges, receive the education and support they need to help their children get off to a healthy start in life.
Program encompasses education, health (including medical, dental, nutritional, and mental health), social services, and parent involvement.	Seeks to empower parents by renewing their interest in their own academic potential.	Began with a pilot project in Missouri in 1981.	May receive technical assistance by the Family Resource Coalition, a national membership, consulting and advocacy organization.	Developed through two decades of research and the experience of the Hawaii Healthy Start Program.

Table 1 (cont.d)
Examples of Nationally Recognized Program Models

Head Start	Home Instructional Program for Preschool Youngsters (HIPPY)	Parents as Teachers (PAT)	Family Support Programs	Healthy Families America
Communities adapt these components to meet the needs of local children, but must meet national performance standards.	Long-terms goals are to reduce families' welfare dependency, increase parents' involvement in the public schools, and reduce children's school dropout rates.	Trained PAT professionals offer parents timely information on their children's development and learning through regularly scheduled home visits, parenting education, group meetings, screenings, and referrals to other social services.	Do not follow a single model, but instead are designed to meet the needs of the families being served and to complement already existing community services and resources.	National program model developed and disseminated by the National Committee to Prevent Child Abuse starting in 1992, in partnership with the Ronald McDonald Children's Charities and in collaboration with the Hawaii Family Stress Center.
Some states supplement the federal funds available to their Head Start programs to enable them to serve additional children or to extend Head Start services from half to full days.	Delivered by paraprofessionals who are members of the participating communities and are themselves parents in the program.	The Parents as Teachers National Center, established by the Missouri Department of Education in 1987, disseminates the model nationally and trains PAT professionals.	Frequently offer life skills training, parent education classes and support groups, parent-child groups and family activities, child care, information and referral services, advocacy, crisis intervention and family counseling, and other auxiliary support services, such as clothing, emergency food, and transportation.	Over 100 programs have been established in 20 states, along with a network of qualified home visiting trainers.
	Developed in Israel, and disseminated by the HIPPY national office at Teachers College at Columbia University.	Local programs currently exist in 44 states, Washington, DC, and five foreign countries.		

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Chapter 4

Revitalizing Inner Cities: Focusing on Children's Learning

By Margaret C. Wang, Geneva D. Haertel, and Herbert J. Walberg

There is national recognition of the urgent needs of children and youth in highly economically and educationally disadvantaged communities. Policymakers, educators, related service providers, parents, and community members have all put forth significant efforts to address the needs of children and families in the inner cities and isolated rural communities. The economic transition from manufacturing to service sector jobs, the shift in demographics creating increasing diversity, an overall deterioration of the urban infrastructure, the growing numbers of families living in poverty, and inadequate and fragmented social services delivery place seemingly insurmountable burdens on many urban families, particularly in the most inner of the inner cities. Schools, neighborhood organizations, businesses, churches, health care providers, and other government agencies are among the institutions that must undergo major rethinking and restructuring in a broad-based coordinated effort to better meet the diverse needs of urban families.

Schools have been and should continue to be the primary focus in efforts to significantly improve the capacity for educational success of our nation's children and youth. Surely other efforts will come to naught if we fail to offer powerful forms of education in schools. Nevertheless, rich learning occurs not only in schools, but also in a multitude of settings: storytelling and family reading together at home; exploring math and science through an exhibition at a local museum; learning about people and geography through an after-school program in the neighborhood library; interning at a local business; and participating in community service programs serving local residents.

Cities, too, provide a wealth of resources for extracurricular learning. Despite the difficulties of urban life, cities also contain many rich and promising resources for children and families. Much of what is known from research and innovative applications of what we know that works can be culled to overcome adversity (Wang & Gordon, 1994). If only we can find the means of magnifying the "positives" in urban life, we can rekindle hope for the schooling success of all of the diverse students schools today are challenged to serve, particularly those who, for a variety of reasons, live in circumstances that place them at risk of school failure or leaving school unprepared for work or further learning. The challenge is twofold: first, to forge school-family-community collaborations that can better serve the development and learning needs of children and youth in circumstances that place them at risk; and second, to identify and implement effective practices and policies that meet the diverse needs of students who are in circumstances that place them at risk of school failure to ensure healthy development and learning success of every student.

This paper provides an overview of the research base on the influences of schools, families, and communities on the learning and educational resilience of children in at-risk circumstances; illustrations of current policies and programmatic approaches that place healthy development and educational success as an integral component of community revitalization efforts; and a discussion of implications for practice and policy improvements.

The Research Base

An extensive research base shows what influences learning and reveals practices that promote healthy development among children and youth who live in high-risk circumstances. An overview of this research base is briefly summarized in the following section.

What Influences Learning?

Findings from a research synthesis of the past 50 years of educational and psychological research on learning, combined with a large-scale survey of judgments of educational practitioners, policymakers, and researchers, provide substantial consistency in systematic appraisals of what practices, policies, and contexts influence learning (Wang, Haertel, & Walberg, 1994). Twenty-eight broad-based categories of influence were identified from published research reports and ratings from the survey. Figure 1 provides a summary of the findings by listing the influence categories ranked from most to least influential. The numbers listed on the right represent the average influence score for a given category.

As shown in Figure 1, the most powerful influences are found in the learner, the classroom, and the home. They affect learners directly (i.e., they are the categories with the greatest influence on students' cognitive abilities, motivation, and behavior; classroom management, climate, and student-teacher interactions; amount and type of classroom instruction; and the home environment). The community, teacher-administrator decision making, and out-of-class time show moderate influences on learning. State, district, and school policies, which affect learners indirectly, are among the least influential categories.

The findings shown in Figure 1 suggest that policy, even that which is carefully developed and addresses a significant problem, is unlikely to make a difference in student learning unless it directly influences classroom instructional practices, home environment, and parental support. Further analysis of the data to determine the relative influence of different contexts on learning revealed similar patterns. As shown in Table 1, contexts such as the classroom (i.e., instructional practices and curriculum), home and community, and schoolwide practices are more powerful influences on learning than state and district policy contexts.

Promoting Educational Resilience

Many children and youth, particularly those in the inner cities, experience a poor quality of life, endure co-occurring risks such as poverty and poor health care, and live in communities with high crime rates and little prospect for employment of family members. Despite these adversities, some children and youth show resilience; they beat the odds and overcome the adversities they face. Resilient children are those who grow into competent, well-educated adults and rise above their circumstances to break the cycle of disadvantage.

Resilience is a concept advanced through studies of developmental pathways that mitigate adversities and mechanisms that support recovery from severe life trauma (Garmezy, 1991). Resilience as a psychological construct provides an integrative framework for interpreting individual and institutional resources that can be cultivated and mobilized to mitigate the effects of personal vulnerabilities, risks, and environmental adversities. Resilience is not the product of a single precipitating event, but rather of continuous interaction between an individual and the features of his/her environment. A key premise is that protective mechanisms within the family, classroom, school, and community can foster educational resilience by buffering and reducing the adversities children face, and providing opportunities for learning and healthy development. Homes, classrooms, schools, and communities can be altered to provide features that protect children against adversities, enhance their learning, and develop their talents and competencies.

Bronfenbrenner's (1986) ecological model of healthy child development also provides a clear rationale for establishing links between the school, family, and community contexts. Bronfenbrenner's model specifies that healthy development depends upon children's extended participation in increasingly complex, reciprocal activities with at least one adult devoted to the child's well-being. As the interpersonal interactions increase in complexity, the child advances cognitively and behaviorally. Successful child-rearing also depends on supportive interactions with other individuals who are part of the child's and family's principal contexts: home, school, and community. These interactions involve exchanges of information, communication, accommodation, and trust.

Bronfenbrenner's model is helpful in understanding how a child's development is affected by detrimental sociocultural circumstances, including impaired parent-child interactions and relationships, conflicting demands between child care and jobs, the instability of daily family life, and increasing divorce rates (Bronfenbrenner & Neville, 1994). Studies of children who thrive despite these disruptive conditions provide evidence of an "immunizing" factor that can mitigate against life's adversities. The immunizing factor, which is also noted in the resilience literature, is the availability of support systems that connect the contexts surrounding the family. Such support systems, with the help of public policies and practices, provide stability, status, belief systems, customs, and actions that support the child-rearing process.

Table 2 presents risk factors and protective features within the contexts of the school, home, and community. Practices within these contexts that facilitate children's learning and educational resilience are highlighted below.

School and Classroom Context

Schools and teachers make a difference in student learning (Edmonds, 1979). Educational resilience can be fostered in classrooms and schools. Although few studies address the role of school, classroom, and teacher as protective mechanisms that promote resilience development in general and educational resilience in particular, research on improving the capacity for education in inner cities (Wang, Freiberg, & Waxman, 1994) suggests a consistent pattern of effective institutional practices and organizational and behavioral patterns in inner-city schools that promote educational resilience. Furthermore, these findings are largely congruent with the extant literature on effective schools. For example, the research showed significant differences between inner-city schools that were more and less effective in promoting achievement. Students in the more effective schools generally spent more time working independently, teachers spent more time interacting with students, and students expressed more positive perceptions about their schools. They were more satisfied with their schoolwork and peer relationships, saw their teachers as having high expectations of them, and had higher aspirations and achievement motivation, as well as better social and academic self-concept. In addition, students in effective inner-city schools felt more involved in school, believed their teachers were more supportive, and felt classroom rules were made clear to them. Similarly, in a study using the NELS:88 database, Peng, Weishew, and Wang (1991) found that inner-city schools with high achievement scores despite their disadvantaged circumstances were more orderly and structured than low-achieving inner-city schools. Anderson and Walberg (1994) found that higher achieving Chicago schools had high involvement of stakeholder groups and staff capacity for continuous learning.

Teachers. Teachers' beliefs and actions play a central role in promoting student well-being and learning success. With support and guidance from teachers, students develop the values and attitudes needed to persevere in their schoolwork, master new experiences, believe in their own efficacy, and take responsibility for their own learning. Teachers not only transmit knowledge and facilitate learning, but also act as confidants and mentors. They reduce stress while providing support for children facing difficult life circumstances (Werner & Smith, 1982). When close relationships among teachers and students are sustained over time, the students' academic and social endeavors benefit (Lee, Bryk, & Smith, 1993).

Classroom Instruction and Climate. Educational research conducted over the past three decades has identified powerful instructional strategies that consistently produce achievement advantages (Reynolds, 1989; Teddlie & Stringfield, 1993; Wang et al., 1994). They include:

- Maximized learning time
- Well-managed classroom with clear management and disciplinary rules
- High expectations for all students
- Frequent and cognitively challenging student-teacher academic interactions
- Frequent and sustained student-teacher social interactions
- High degree of student engagement
- Instruction adapted to students' learning needs
- Active teaching of higher order thinking skills
- Use of direct instruction when appropriate
- Student involvement in setting learning goals, monitoring their own progress, and evaluating and refining their work
- Participation in group learning activities

Overall, academically oriented classrooms, well-organized classrooms, and classrooms with a cooperative climate are positively associated with students' cognitive and affective outcomes; classrooms in which students hold shared values, interests, and beliefs, and in which students are more satisfied with classroom life, contribute to more positive climates and enhanced learning for every student.

Curriculum. Student learning is enhanced when the curriculum contains intellectually demanding content, is tailored to diverse learning needs, and is sensitive to the need for connections with the life experience and background of the individual student. This is especially important for children from economically and educationally disadvantaged homes, and students from ethnic and language minority backgrounds who have not fared well under the current system of delivery, and who have been provided little opportunity to learn advanced content and develop higher order thinking skills (Means & Knapp, 1991).

Urban schools, particularly those with a high concentration of students in circumstances that place them at risk of educational failure, invest significant energy and resources to "compensate" for the lack of academic achievement; indeed, many provide a variety of well-intentioned supplementary supports such as placement in Title I, bilingual, and special education programs—unfortunately with little result. Among the most frequently cited reasons for this lack of results is the use of pull-out, remedial, or compensatory approaches to program implementation. These approaches are often disjointed from the mainstream programs and devote little time to exposing students to advanced content or developing their higher order cognitive skills (Allington & McGill-Franzen, 1995; Commission on Chapter 1, 1992). Children's learning is likely to be enhanced when they are exposed to demanding curriculum that is both instructionally powerful and connected with their life experience in culturally sensitive ways. The relevance of curricula within traditional subject areas may be enhanced by content related to students' cultural and familial experiences. The availability of such curricula and programs is resilience-promoting whether delivered at school, at home, or in the community.

Schoolwide Practices. Substantial evidence suggests that fundamental changes in school life, organization, and culture can improve student learning and motivation (Johnson & Johnson, 1995; Lee et al., 1993; Newmann & Wehlage, 1995; Teddlie & Stringfield, 1993). Schoolwide practices that are linked to achievement and psychosocial benefits include:

- Reinforcing academic accomplishments
- Providing public recognition, awards, and incentives for accomplishments
- Creating smaller educational units (e.g., charters, mini-schools)
- Fostering feelings of "belonging" and "involvement" among students and staff

- Establishing effective and responsive instructional programs that promote learning and educational resilience
- Adopting an inclusive approach to address the diverse needs of students with greater-than-usual instructional and service needs
- Guarding instructional time spent on academic tasks
- Implementing well-coordinated academic programs
- Involving parents and communities in school programs
- Establishing a safe, nonviolent school setting
- High level of principal engagement in the academic and social life of the school
- Faculty participation in school decision making

Peer Support. Peer cultures can facilitate learning or conflict with the academic values of schools (Ogbu, 1988; Taylor, Casten, & Flickinger, 1994). Student achievement is a product not only of a child's cognitive ability, but also of school climate, family values and practices, and the social network of peers. After the family, peers are the most important source of support, providing children and adolescents with a sense of being cared about and valued. Peer networks can facilitate development and protect against stress by providing a stable and supportive source of concern. Conversely, they can inhibit positive educational outcomes by pressuring children and youth to engage in misconduct rather than productive educational tasks.

Anderson's (1990) case studies revealed the impact of peers on African-American male youth who were moving between two communities—an economically disadvantaged community and a community becoming middle class through community gentrification. Anderson showed that both groups appropriated the language, attitudes, and behaviors of the prevalent youth culture in their communities. In the economically disadvantaged community, students displayed more defensive physical postures and speech patterns; in the gentrified community, the same youth exhibited more helpful acts in an effort to dispel perceptions of them as engaging in uncivil or criminal activities. Anderson's studies illustrate the responsiveness of youth to the attitudes, aspirations, and behaviors of their peers.

Coleman and Hoffer (1987) described how students in boarding schools are supportive of their friends when their families disengage. Another indication of the influence of peers is the finding that cooperative learning is one of the single most effective school-based interventions for reducing alcohol and drug use (Bangert-Downs, 1988). Similarly, Watt, Moorehead-Slaughter, Japzon, and Keller (1990) provided evidence that children of divorced parents find respite from a stressful home situation in peer networks that provide distance from stressed parents. Children of divorce look to school friends for companionship and care to a greater extent than children from intact homes.

Peers also have a significant impact on students' self-perceived academic competence and attitude toward school. Cauce (1986) found that the peer group's attitude toward school was a significant predictor of grades, achievement test scores, value placed on being a good student, and perceived competence. Similarly, Patchen (1982) found that students with peers who valued high achievement spent more time on homework, finished more of their homework assignments, attended school more regularly, and were less often tardy or absent without permission. Opportunities to interact with students who have high achievement motivation, positive attitudes toward school, and a positive academic self-concept can be beneficial to students who are academically at risk. Mentoring programs, cooperative learning programs, cross-age tutoring, use of small learning groups, and extracurricular activities provide mechanisms for children and youth to develop positive peer relationships and stronger support networks.

The Family Context

Parents and family members are a child's first teachers. They nurture, educate, and act as points of entry to many of society's resources. The family nurtures children's development by providing food, shelter, and protection. They establish social connections to the larger community; provide opportunities to develop competence and achieve mastery in learning; and find ways to create and access a variety of resources to ensure children's healthy development and educational success. Rutter's (1990) research reveals that a positive parent-child relationship, other secure attachments, and family cohesion and warmth protect children against adversity later in life. An organized home environment, infrequent relocations, and marital stability reduce the likelihood that a child will engage in disruptive behaviors. Families that hold high expectations for children, and employ consistent discipline and rules produce better outcomes among children living in high-risk circumstances. In contrast, poor household maintenance and housekeeping are related to disruptiveness in school (Masten, Morison, Pelligrini, & Tellegen, 1990).

The intervention literature suggests that many of the problems students experience cannot be addressed without the direct involvement of the family. Werner and Smith (1982) emphasized the value of assigned chores, caring for brothers and sisters, and the contribution of part-time work in supporting the family. These behaviors show children they can improve their circumstances, which leads to enhanced self-esteem and fosters resilience. Research in family involvement also shows the key role that the family plays in enhancing children's school performance. Educational intervention programs designed to involve family members are significantly more effective than programs aimed exclusively at students. The active participation of family members in students' learning has improved achievement, increased school attendance, and decreased student dropout, delinquency, and pregnancy rates. Further, parents who participate in family involvement programs generally feel better about themselves and are more likely to advance their own education (Flaxman & Inger, 1991).

Parent involvement programs differ in their focus and design. Some programs involve parents in local governance and "choice;" others strive to improve families' communication and study skills, and stress the value of setting high expectations for children; still others focus on providing access to community resources and may involve home visits, job training, career counseling, health care, mental health, and social support. While all parent involvement programs may promote students' well-being, those programs that incorporate powerful instructional techniques are the most likely to produce learning gains.

The Community Context

In the United States, children spend only about 13% of their time in school during the first 18 years of life (Walberg, 1984). Although this statistic was calculated over a decade ago, it is a reminder of the amount of unstructured time that children have available. The Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development (1992) reported that nearly 40% of adolescents' waking time is unstructured and uncommitted. A substantial research base identifies features of the community that might be exploited directly to influence nonschool learning and indirectly to increase children's classroom learning and motivation.

Health care organizations, child care services, job training providers, religious institutions, and recreational facilities are some of the social organizations that serve human needs (Garmezy, 1991). Communities with well-developed and integrated networks of these organizations have fewer social problems (Yancey & Saporito, 1995). Coordination and cooperation of community institutions promote family health, reduce crime and delinquency, contribute to neighborhood cohesion, and ready children for school.

Communities with high expectations for good citizenship provide protective mechanisms for residents, as shown in studies that explore the importance of cultural norms on student alcohol and drug abuse. Analyzing community-based programs for African-American youth, Nettles (1991) found that school-based clinics are only partially effective in reducing substance abuse. The programs that fostered resilience provided more social support and adult aid, gave concrete help on tasks, and provided opportunities for students to develop new interests and skills.

Communities with a high concentration of economically disadvantaged families often lack a well-integrated network of social organizations for children and youth. The services provided to impoverished, deteriorating urban communities are often compartmentalized and fragmented (Boyd & Crowson, 1993). In an analysis of the impact of social policies on the quality of human resources available to African-American youth, Swanson and Spencer (1991) emphasized the dual importance of finding ways to reduce risk and making opportunities and resources available to break the adverse chain reactions. Because schools have the most sustained contact with children and their families, educators should consider the potential benefits of coordinating and integrating children's services across school and community organizations when designing school improvement programs (Flaxman & Passow, 1995).

Energetic family and community involvement programs support children's academic efforts, assist families in the development of good parenting skills, and reinforce the values promoted at school. The linkage of family, school, and community resources helps amplify children and youth's sense of nurturance and support. One example is the coordination of school-linked services to provide ready access to medical, psychological, legal, transportation, and social services for students and their families (Rigsby, Reynolds, & Wang, 1995). Although early evaluation results have demonstrated some beneficial outcomes from school-linked services, the early efforts often did not stress powerful instructional techniques in combination with access to the services (Center for the Study of Social Policy, 1995). School-linked programs, if designed with attention to the resources of families, schools, and communities, seem likely to improve the overall quality of life for these students.

Recent Developments: A National Call for Action

The service delivery system currently in place for serving children and families in the United States is fragmented and inadequate for meeting the physical, social, and learning needs of today's children and youth, especially those beset by significant adversities. Clearly, schools alone cannot redress this inadequacy. In this section, we review recent developments that have emerged in response to the pressing need for improvement. We begin by identifying recently enacted federal policies and school-family-community programs that have been advanced as partial solutions. In these responses, schools become partners with families and local communities in an effort to better meet the diverse needs of every student. Several recent, far-reaching legislative efforts demonstrate Congress' resolve to improve the life circumstances of America's children. Both national policies and programmatic responses have been targeted at meeting the needs of the most vulnerable—a timely nationwide call for action.

Goals 2000: Educate America Act

This bipartisan legislation, signed into law in March of 1994, grew out of concerns raised by the 1983 report, *A Nation at Risk*. This law makes education a national priority, but is designed to better enable states and local communities to tailor educational reform efforts to their specific and unique needs. In addition to specifying eight National Education Goals[1], it stresses the importance of parent and community involvement in schools. The law is perhaps best known for its strong endorsement of improving curriculum content and performance standards for every student, including those requiring greater-than-usual educational and related service support in order to achieve educational success.

Improving America's Schools Act

In October of 1994, Congress affirmed its commitment to the nation's poorest children. By reauthorizing and restructuring the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965—now the Improving America's Schools Act (IASA)—lawmakers mandated community and parental involvement in the schools. Collaborative efforts among schools, communities, and families are to provide the intricate web of support necessary to ensure safe and intellectually enriching environments that bolster students' achievement. The commitment to bring together these institutions to serve the needs of children in high-poverty areas is visible throughout the legislation. Titles I, IV, and XI contain provisions that are relevant to meeting the many needs of students via school-family-community partnerships.

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[1] 1) All children in America will start school ready to learn. 2) The high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent. 3) All students will leave grades 4, 8, and 12 having demonstrated competency over challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, foreign languages, civics and government, economics, the arts, history and geography, and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning and productive employment in our nation's modern economy. 4) The nation's teaching force will have access to programs for the continued improvement of their professional skills and the opportunity to acquire the knowledge and skills needed to instruct and prepare all American students for the next Century. 5) United States students will be first in the world in mathematics and science achievement. 6) Every American adult will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. 7) Every school in the United States will be free from drugs, violence, and the unauthorized presence of firearms and alcohol and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning. 8) Every school will promote partnerships that will increase parental involvement and participation in promoting the social, emotional, and academic growth of children (Goals 2000: Educate America Act (1994) PL103-227, Title 1 of Goals 2000, Sec.102).

Title I of IASA, *Helping Disadvantaged Children Meet High Standards*, includes new provisions that ask school districts to coordinate and integrate Title I services with other educational services (e.g., Head Start and Even Start). It also allows Title I schools to work with the community to provide health, nutrition, and other social services. The coordination of these services is designed to mitigate the perilous conditions outside the classroom, such as hunger, unsafe living conditions, homelessness, violence, inadequate health care, and child abuse.

Title IV of IASA, *Safe and Drug Free Schools and Communities*, calls for comprehensive and community-wide approaches to making schools and neighborhoods safe and drug-free. The program provides funds to governors, state and local educational agencies, institutions of higher education, and nonprofit groups for planning and implementation of drug and violence prevention school and community programs.

Title XI of IASA, *Coordinated Services*, provides for local educational agencies and schools to develop, implement, or expand a coordinated service project to increase children's and parents' access to social, health, and educational services.

Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities

In addition to the legislation cited above, one of the most comprehensive initiatives for coordinated and collaborative approaches to support sustainable, community-based economic and community development efforts is the Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community (EZ/EC) initiative. Authorized by Congress in 1993, EZ/EC allocates $3.8 billion in tax incentives and social service grants to over 100 areas of pervasive poverty, unemployment, and general distress. Tax-exempt facility bonds, employment credit, and other training and educational incentives were created to benefit organizations in the designated regions. Employers of youth under the age of 19 are also eligible to receive credit for youth training programs operated in conjunction with education officials.

In establishing specific guidelines for the creation of 95 Enterprise Communities, 6 Empowerment Zones, and 3 supplemental Empowerment Zones, the EZ/EC initiative mandates that potential recipients of a grant develop a detailed plan for the coordination of community, economic, facility, and human resources. The proposal must describe the development of a strategic plan and the degree of involvement of community and local organizations, and identify potential partnerships with both public and private organizations (e.g., schools, health care providers, businesses) and a system for measuring the success of the plan, including an explanation of methodology and benchmarking.

The above-cited legislation and federal initiatives have the potential to significantly advance the nation's capacity for the healthy development and learning success of the increasingly diverse student population. The examples described above have two focuses in common that are relevant to children in at-risk circumstances. Each law focuses on creating a positive climate that supports learning. For example, Goals 2000 sets high academic standards for all students, Goals 2000 and IASA promote safe and drug free educational environments, and the EZ/EC initiative provides support for local communities and businesses to revitalize the social, economic, and educational environments in which children live and learn.

Each law also emphasizes the value of school-family-community partnerships as a means of creating the positive climate needed to optimize children's learning. Goals 2000 and IASA both encourage parental involvement in the schools. IASA and EZ/EC encourage the formation of partnerships among schools, families, and communities to develop and implement the programs they fund, to assure that all contexts in which children and families live and learn are represented, and to take responsibility for the development of school-family-community learning environments that promote learning and educational resilience. Furthermore, by working collaboratively with one another, the benefits of each partner's resources can be maximized.

Forging School-Family-Community Connections for Student Success

There has been a proliferation of programs designed to improve the lives of children at risk (cf. Berhman, 1992; Levy & Shepardson, 1992; Rigsby et al., 1995; U.S. Department of Education, 1996). Some of these programs were prompted by national policies, whereas others grew out of grassroots movements (Center for the Study of Social Policy, 1995). Collaborative school-linked services programs can help guarantee the educational accomplishment of children by providing access to medical, psychological, economic, and educational resources in coordinated and accessible ways. However, the research base shows that these services by themselves are insufficient for achieving academic success (Driscoll, Boyd, & Crowson, 1996; Wang et al., 1994).

There is no single model for the delivery of collaborative school-linked services (Levy & Shepardson, 1992). Current collaborative programs include those directed at parents of young children, pregnant teenagers and teenage parents, dropouts, homeless children, and alcohol and drug abusers. Many new programs have emerged from the needs of children and families in local communities (Benard, 1992; Driscoll et al., 1996; Holtzman, 1994; U.S. Department of Education, 1995). Collaborative school-linked services can be described in terms of their goals, the services offered, the location of services, and the service providers.

Table 3 shows the key features of the six most frequently targeted program areas for school-linked services for children and youth. For each of the six program areas (Parent Education and School Readiness; Teen Pregnancy Prevention and Parenting; Dropout Prevention; Chemical Dependency Abuse and Prevention; Integrated Services; and Parent Involvement) the at-risk context, collaborators, and curriculum-based versus service orientation are reported.

At-Risk Contexts. Many collaborative school-linked programs are targeted for urban, low-achieving, economically and socially disadvantaged children and youth and their families. However, the Dropout Prevention, Teen Pregnancy, and Chemical Dependency program areas are targeted for all students.

Goals. Parent Education and School Readiness, Teen Pregnancy Prevention and Parenting, Dropout Prevention, and Parent Involvement programs all focus resources on improving students' academic achievement. In addition, many of these programs focus on parental competencies, family literacy, and child development and the provision of health services. Such programs as Teen Pregnancy Prevention and Parenting and Chemical Dependency have particular goals associated with the program's special emphasis (for example, birth control, alcohol addiction, and drug dependency).

Collaborators. Across all program areas, the most typical collaborators include schools, families, and social and health care workers. A supportive but less central role has been played by universities, private foundations, religious institutions, the media, law enforcement, and the business community. In the area of Chemical Dependency Abuse and Prevention, peers have played a key role in modeling refusal and coping skills, and in distributing current information on alcohol and drug abuse and prevention.

Curriculum Versus Service Orientation. In most collaborative school-linked programs, both curriculum and services are offered as part of the programmatic intervention. Parent Involvement programs are the exception, relying primarily on curricular interventions. The curriculum presented in most collaborative programs provides knowledge and new skills in the program's area of emphasis. Services typically include health care, transportation to appointments, and counseling.

Implementation of School-Family-Community Programs

During the past five years, community members, educators, and other service providers began many school-home-community programs. Some of these programs established school-linked, comprehensive service delivery systems, while others adopted school-based, co-located, comprehensive services. Still others were designed to make community-based learning environments and resources, such as libraries, museums, and recreational facilities, available to children and families. Programs invited family involvement and regarded the family as a full partner necessary to the fulfillment of program goals. Regardless of their design, these programs harnessed the resources of school, family, and community to achieve their ends.

Despite intense interest and wide implementation, little is known about the effectiveness of school-family-community programs. Few rigorous research results exist. Knapp (1994) identified several evaluations of statewide initiatives (State Reorganization Commission, 1989; Wagner, Golan, Shower, Newman, Wechsler, & Kelley, 1994) and a multiple program comparison study (Marzke, Chimerine, Morrill, & Marks, 1992). However, case studies, single project evaluations, and descriptions of demonstration projects comprise much of the extant knowledge base (Arvey & Tijerina, 1995; Mickelson, Yon, & Carlton-LaNey, 1995; Zetlin, Ramos, & Valdez, in press). One of the more rigorous and compelling studies of collaborative program effects is the five-year, multisite evaluation of the New Futures program (Center for the Study of Social Policy, 1995), which showed very little effect.

Guidelines for Successful Implementation

Guidelines for successful implementation were identified based on results from recent evaluations of collaborative programs and findings from a quantitative synthesis and a qualitative analysis of collaborative programs (Wang, Haertel, & Walberg, 1995). Five categories of these imperatives are presented in Table 4, and include: (a) planning for implementation, (b) focusing on the client, (c) promoting interprofessional collaboration, (d) allocating and deploying resources, and (e) implementing research-based instructional practices.

The planning process is of paramount importance for successfully implementing collaborative programs. The process must include key stakeholders and be of sufficient duration to permit the development of a shared vision and the establishment of a "new culture." The main focus of collaborative programs must be on the client. Management, administrative, and governance issues must be addressed without losing sight of the ultimate goal of serving clients' multiple needs. Facilitating the collaboration requires opportunities for interaction among collaborators, clearly defined roles, and formal policies and procedures for program operation. Stable collaborative operations depend on availability of space and resources, technical assistance to collaborators, and sufficient long-term funding.

When these prior conditions for collaborative planning and operations are met, the stage is set for the implementation of powerful, research-based instructional practices within the classroom and school. Research has shown that when collaboratives are established, school governance changes. However, changes in school governance do not necessarily impact core instructional practices. Many times schools involved in collaboratives merely add on programs, rather than instituting systemic change in the delivery of instruction.

The Community for Learning Program: Prospects for a Comprehensive Approach to Coordinated Educational and Related Services Delivery

The desire to increase the opportunities for educational and lifetime success of children and families in inner-city communities sparked the design of the Community for Learning Program (CFL) (Wang, Oates, & Weishew, 1995). This program, developed by the National Center on Education in the Inner Cities as part of a long-term program of research on fostering educational resilience in inner-city communities, was initiated to address the fundamental question, What conditions are required to cause dramatic improvements in the learning of children and youth in the nation's inner cities?

Figure 2 represents the basic design of CFL, and identifies and relates the goals, design elements, and learning environments that comprise the program. The goals of CFL are operationalized in site-based program design elements within a variety of learning environments, including the school, the family, and the community. CFL provides a framework for designing interventions based on site-specific needs and capacity. The framework also demonstrates a collaborative process that unites various groups and resources in school restructuring efforts. The Community for Learning Program strengthens the school's capacity to mobilize and redeploy community and school and encourages coordinated, inclusive service delivery. Unlike many earlier collaborative programs, however, CFL positions curriculum, instruction, classroom management, and school organization as central design elements of implementation. A basic premise of CFL is that to fully realize the potential for schooling success of students faced with multiple, co-occurring risks, attention must also be directed at the way core instruction is delivered in classrooms/schools. Without a focus on establishing productive learning environments in the classroom and school, via powerful instruction, rigorous and meaningful curricula, and supportive schoolwide practices, reform efforts to support student learning will continue to fall short of their long-range visions.

In the Community for Learning Program, comprehensive reform of service delivery goes beyond involving the school in a new governance structure to administer interagency activities by focusing on implementing resilience-promoting practices and policies, especially effective instructional practices, to improve delivery and student learning.

Key Program Components

The Community for Learning Program consists of seven major components, focusing on (a) the learning needs of students, (b) the organizational and administrative support requirements needed to achieve program implementation, and (c) the staff development needs of school personnel and related service providers. Of these seven components, five address the education concerns and two focus on service delivery. The components are listed below:

- A site-specific implementation plan that takes into account the school's program improvement needs, students' learning characteristics and needs, staff expertise and staffing patterns, curriculum standards, instruction, and assessments, and other implementation-related concerns.
- A schoolwide organizational structure that employs teaming of regular and specialist teachers in the planning and delivery of instruction in the regular classroom setting.
- A staff development plan, based on a needs assessment, that provides ongoing training and technical assistance tailored to the needs of individual staff members and program implementation requirements.
- An instructional learning management system with a focus on student self-responsibility.
- An integrated assessment-instruction process that provides an individualized learning plan for each student, using multiple approaches such as whole-class and small-group instruction, as well as one-on-one tutoring, based on an ongoing analysis of student needs, resources, and expediency.
- A school-family-community involvement plan that aims to enhance communication among partners and to forge a partnership of equal responsibility that promotes schooling success.
- A school-linked, comprehensive, coordinated health and human services delivery plan that addresses the wellness, healthy development, and learning success of each student.

Program Impact

The Community for Learning Program influences school practices and expectations by stressing the use of research-based instructional practices that are linked to positive student academic and social outcomes and encouraging teachers to hold high academic and social expectations for all students. Results from recent implementation studies in several inner cities show a positive pattern of achievement, with CFL students outperforming comparison students in both reading and mathematics. Other findings include CFL students demonstrating more positive attitudes toward their learning and their classroom and school environment when compared with students from non-program schools. CFL students, compared to other students, also perceive their teachers as providing more constructive feedback about their work and behavior; hold higher levels of aspiration for their own academic learning; have better academic self-concepts; and have clearer understandings of rules for behaviors and class/school operations.

In a follow-up study, 11th-grade students who had participated in the Community for Learning Program in middle school showed a significantly lower dropout rate (19%) compared to their peers (60%) enrolled in the same high school. The data also revealed that CFL families and communities become more active in a range of school activities and participate more in school decision-making. Among the major outcomes of CFL is a capacity-building process for school restructuring. This process has been shown to strengthen, mobilize, and redeploy school, family, and community resources in implementing a coordinated system of education and related service delivery.

The Community for Learning Program provides a powerful instructional program that draws on multiple learning environments and is supported by a comprehensive services delivery system. Although students' academic accomplishments are central to the program's success, school, family, and community resources are also invested in meeting a variety of other goals. As a site-based program, it is sensitive to the needs and preferences of students, the local neighborhood, and the school staff. It employs a program of staff development that is data-driven, as opposed to a staff development program that upgrades teachers' skills using discrete workshops with limited relevance to teachers' needs. Instruction in the Community for Learning Program relies on research-based, effective practices. Most importantly, it provides for collaboration among parents, community members, and teachers in harnessing resources to promote educational resilience and student learning.

Discussion and Conclusions

As Census data from the 1990s showed the United States leading the industrialized world in terms of children living in poverty, the nation's attention was drawn to the plight of children and families in a variety of risk circumstances, particularly high-risk circumstances in this nation's inner cities. The quality of life available to these children and families is threatened by poverty, lack of employment opportunities, disorderly and stressful environments, poor health care, children born to children, and highly fragmented patterns of service.

Many students in these circumstances have difficulty achieving learning success and need better help than they are now receiving. If they are to successfully complete a basic education through equal access to a common curriculum, the way schools respond to the diversity of student needs must undergo major conceptual and structural changes. Meeting the needs of the increasingly diverse, economically and educationally disadvantaged urban children and youth requires comprehensive reform of service delivery, including the most powerful educational interventions possible. The situation in inner-city education is seen as a current and general crisis, one of great significance to the future of American education. Inner-city schools and communities are not thriving, and in many cases children's life opportunities are being lost. Decades of interventions in inner cities have not worked.

Broad systemic reform is required. Resources must be gathered from the community—public and private agencies, local and state health and human services departments, and businesses and religious institutions—and coordinated with the resources available in schools. Narrow plans that reform a school's instructional program alone will not solve these problems. Improvement efforts must take into consideration the learning context, requiring collaboration and coordination among professionals on a scale never previously attempted. Despite the crisis in urban centers, there are myriad resources in families and communities that can be united with schools to rekindle hope and revitalize communities' commitment to ensuring healthy development and learning success of its young. One thing is certain: human development and education must be at the center of any hope for sustainable community development and economic recovery in urban America.

Several policy and practical implications can be drawn from current attempts to institute broad-based efforts to significantly improve the healthy development and learning success of inner-city children and youth. First, program implementation must be a shared responsibility of all stakeholder groups at the grassroots level to address the multiple co-occurring risks prevalent in the lives and learning of many inner-city children and youth who are placed further at risk by the inadequate education they receive. However, schools must be the primary focus as we attempt to find ways to improve the capacity for education in the inner cities.

Secondly, innovative programs evolve in stages of development, growth, and change. Procedures found useful in one city can be helpful in initiating similar programs elsewhere. Although impressive advances have been demonstrated in the delivery of school-linked comprehensive programs, much attention must be paid to charting a course of action to bring to scale what works in the unique situations of the initial implementation sites. Strong efforts are needed to provide support for forums to share ideas on solutions to thorny problems, to identify promising practices, to analyze how programs are implemented, and to evaluate outcomes. This is yet another level of collaboration, currently lacking, that would surely contribute to sustained improvements.

Finally, few educational reforms have generated the same level of groundswelling support as the comprehensive approach to coordinated educational and related services for children as a focus for achieving significant improvements in student learning. A variety of programs are being created across the country to implement coordinated approaches to reach out to children and youth at greatest risk. Nearly all such programs seek to develop feasible ways to build connecting mechanisms for effective communication, coordinated service delivery, and mobilization of the latent energies and resources of communities. Despite the fact that the implementation of school-community connection programs requires application of knowledge and expertise from many disciplines and professions, no system is in place to communicate and share the growing body of related research findings and innovative development experiences among practitioners and others who play major roles in influencing the conditions and processes of education and health and human services delivery. This lack of access to information about program features, implementation, and evidence of replicable and beneficial effects has been voiced as a major source of concern by field-based education and related services professionals as they enter into groundbreaking collaborative ventures.

To date, educational reform and the reform of services delivery have been on somewhat separate tracks—both in the design of reform efforts and in the forums in which they are discussed. Comprehensive reform of services delivery has often focused on changes in the local governance of service providers, and the improvement of student learning has often remained in the background. In the past, educational reform efforts frequently have failed to incorporate comprehensive, non-educational services into their designs. To ensure the long-lasting impact of collaborative programs, schools and other collaborating agencies must be committed to using powerful instructional techniques as an essential and active component. Efforts to redesign instructional techniques and improve curriculum can no longer rest solely on the mantle of school reform, but must be included in the efforts to strengthen school, family, and community collaboratives.

Table 1

Average Rating of Influences by Context

Context	
Classroom: Instructional Practices	53.3
Home and Community	51.4
Classroom: Curriculum	47.3
Schoolwide Practices	45.1
State and District Policy	35.0

Table 2

Risks and Resilience-Promoting Protective Factors in School, Family, and Community Contexts

Contexts	Risk Factors, Adversities, and Vulnerabilities	Protective Factors That Mitigate Against Educational Failure
The School	Academic underachievement Low expectations for student achievement Few resources Large numbers of students from economically disadvantaged families Inadequate teaching staff Poor leadership Unsafe school Poor instructional quality Use of pullout programs and negative labeling of children with special needs Curricula that is watered down with little higher-level content presented Too little time devoted to instruction	**School Environment** Instruction • Curriculum articulation and organization • Maximized learning time • Ample opportunities of respond during instruction • High level of student engagement • Student participation in goal-setting, metacognitive and self-regulated learning activities • Cooperative learning techniques • Good classroom management • Frequent and high-quality teacher-student interactions Teacher Expectations and Actions • Role modeling of problem-solving and prosocial behavior • Caring and committed relationships between students and teachers • Promote students self-concept and self-esteem Teacher Expectations and Actions • Holding high expectations for all students • Helping students master new experiences Adapting Curriculum and Instruction to Respond Student Diversity • Teacher sensitivity to students' cultural and intellectual diversity • Adaptation of curriculum content and instructional strategies to ensure student learning

Table 2 (cont.d)

Risks and Resilience-Promoting Protective Factors in School, Family, and Community Contexts

Contexts	Risk Factors, Adversities, and Vulnerabilities	Protective Factors That Mitigate Against Educational Failure
		Adapting Curriculum and Instruction to Respond Student Diversity (con't.) • Use of culturally relevant texts and materials • Overcoming knowledge deficits by teaching prerequisite knowledge • Use of universal themes to make content more accessible • Opportunity to learn advanced content and higher order thinking skills • Provide motivating context for thinking • School Organization • Safe and orderly school atmosphere that rewards student achievement School Organization • Strong leadership by principals • Active parent involvement program • Inclusive classroom and schools • Availability of school-linked, coordinated services • Smaller educational units which create a sense of involvement and belonging Preschool Programs • Participation in preschool program • Encourages a positive orientation toward school and develops competency in the task of schooling

Table 2 (cont.d)

Risks and Resilience-Promoting Protective Factors in School, Family, and Community Contexts

Contexts	Risk Factors, Adversities, and Vulnerabilities	Protective Factors That Mitigate Against Educational Failure
		Peer Support • Presence of support and caring by peers to students facing successful life circumstances • Positive attitudes of peers toward productive educational tasks • Use of cooperative learning programs, mentoring, cross-age tutoring, use of small learning groups, and extra-curricular activities.
The Family	Perinatal stress Malnutrition Poverty Toxic environment Unemployment Chronic physical and mental illness Divorce/family dissolution Limited parental education Frequent moves Child maltreatment (severe neglect, abuse) Limited transportation Little or no health care Poor parenting skills Poor communication skills Family conflicts Child abuse	**Family Environment** Stable and orderly family environment • At least one strong relationship with an adult (not always parent) • Absence of discord • Family warmth • Family cohesion • Child performs chores to help family • Family nurtures physical growth • Family provides information • Family provides learning opportunities • Family behavioral models • Family provides connections to other resources • Family nurtures self-esteem, self-efficacy • Family nurtures mastery innovation • Family holds high academic expectations for children

Table 2 (cont.d)

Risks and Resilience-Promoting Protective Factors in School, Family, and Community Contexts

Contexts	Risk Factors, Adversities, and Vulnerabilities	Protective Factors That Mitigate Against Educational Failure
	Spouse abuse Substance abuse	Stable and orderly family environment (con't.) • Family involvement in programs and courses that advance their skills
The Community	High crime rate High unemployment rate Substance abuse High rate of teenage pregnancy Few community services Fragmented community services Barriers to services (language, eligibility, cost, transportation) Unsafe neighborhood	**Community Environment** Students' Personal Attributes • (e.g., good health, intelligence, good problem-solving skills, verbal fluency, sense of humor, malleability, interest in novel situations, high activity) Availability of Resources • Access to a variety of human services, including medical, psychological, legal, social, financial, and transportation • Prevention-oriented, school-linked integrated services addressing multiple needs • Opportunities for children and youth to participate in meaningful community activities Community Culture • An emphasis on public safety • Consistent, frequently expressed prosocial norms and values

Table 3

Key Features of Six Program Areas

Program Area	At-Risk Context	Goals	Collaborators	Curriculum Versus Service Orientation
Parent Education and School Readiness (8 sources; 18 programs reviewed)	Uneducated, low-income families with young children often in urban areas; teenage parents.	Parental competencies; family literacy; children's academic achievement; provision of health and social services.	Social and health care workers, schools, private foundations.	Both--(a) curriculum includes child development, child-rearing practices, and parental self-help; (b) services include home visits by nurses and social workers, transportation to appointments, counseling, health screenings.
Teen Pregnancy Prevention and Parenting (5 sources; 7 programs reviewed)	First-time, unmarried, low-income, pregnant teenagers; a few designed for ethnic minorities in urban areas.	Pregnancy prevention: provide information about birth control, sex, and pregnancy to prevent pregnancy; provide contraceptives. Teenage parenting: provide knowledge about pregnancy, birth control, child development, and parenting skills; promote completion of mother's high school education; promote employability and job skills for mothers.	Schools, home nurses, Planned Parenthood; other health and human service agencies; obstetricians, midwives, pediatricians, and nutritionists; university medical schools.	Pregnancy prevention programs: Both--(a) curriculum includes information on birth control, sexuality, and family life education; (b) services include counseling, medical exams, and contraceptives. Teenage parenting: Both--(a) curriculum includes information on birth control, sexuality, child care, and health education, prenatal care, job training; (b) services include prenatal care, transit to appointments, nurse home visitations, parenting programs.

Table 3 (cont.d)

Key Features of Six Program Areas

Program Area	At-Risk Context	Goals	Collaborators	Curriculum Versus Service Orientation
Dropout Prevention (8 sources; 25 programs reviewed)	High school students often in urban areas, with histories of high absenteeism and course failure; also students not able to conform to school expectations; sometimes students involved in criminal activity, chemical dependency, or teenage pregnancy.	Increase student attendance; reduce dropping out; identify and contact truant students; increase students' academic performance; increase probability of students' attending college or entering job market.	Schools; parents; juvenile justice departments; businesses; social services; and occasionally universities and colleges.	Both--(a) curriculum includes remedial basic skills and vocational educational programs; (b) services include counseling, mentoring, health services, phone calls for absenteeism, preparation for GED, and coordination of Job Training Partnerships Act.
Chemical Dependency Abuse and Prevention (8 sources; 171 programs reviewed)	All students; some designed especially for urban minorities; Native Americans and children of alcoholics.	Reduce consumption of alcohol and drugs; increase knowledge about alcohol and drugs; promote coping skills against pressure to abuse substances; teach responsible drinking habits; develop self-esteem.	Peers; schools; community and social agencies; media; counselors; health care workers; police and businesses.	Both--(a) curriculum includes information on alcohol and drugs; social and decision-making skills; (b) services include peer and other counseling, alcohol- and drug-free activities, and support groups.
Integrated Services (6 sources; 6 programs reviewed)	Wide range urban and rural students; delinquent children; children from dysfunctional families; urban minorities; low-achieving youth.	Coordinate services (often coordinating services is an intermediate goal toward ends such as lowering dropout rates); often a single program encompasses multiple goals.	Schools; universities; businesses; state and local governments; foundations and nonprofit agencies; health and mental health care providers; community and religious institutions; parents; peers.	Both--(a) curriculum develops a variety of knowledge and skills; (b) services include vocational counseling, health care, health and mental health, services, and case management.

Table 3 (cont.d)

Key Features of Six Program Areas

Program Area	At-Risk Context	Goals	Collaborators	Curriculum Versus Service Orientation
Parent Involvement (8 sources; over 240 programs reviewed)	Families of children from preschool to high school; frequently urban, economically, and socially disadvantaged families.	Foster greater parental concern for children's educational achievement; improve academic achievement; encourage greater parent involvement in children's education; create more intellectually stimulating home environment; foster close family relationships.	Schools; parents; mental health providers; businesses; media; universities.	Primarily curriculum--parenting skills; child development information.

Table 4

Guidelines for Successful Implementation of School-Home-Community Programs

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Planning for Implementation

- include key stakeholders in planning;
- identify the primary purpose of the coordinated service program and its goals;
- develop a "shared vision" that is facilitated by a lengthy planning period;
- identify clientele (e.g., universal coverage, children and families in at-risk circumstances, only children enroll in the school and their families, all children and families in the schools' neighborhood);
- establish a "new" culture that evolves as problems are and needs are identified in the local site-not a "top-down" mandate;
- receive support from top levels of educational and agency hierarchies;
- disallow any one agency, or the school, from dominating the collaborating partners;

Focusing on the Client

- focus on clients' multiple, co-occurring risks;
- demonstrate sensitivity to the clients' cultural backgrounds;
- use case management procedures;
- resolve issues of client confidentiality, so that cooperating agencies and the school can share client and family data when necessary;
- use confidentiality waivers;

Promoting Interprofessional Collaboration

- provide frequent opportunities for collaborators to interact;
- clarify the evolving roles of teachers, school administrators, and members of the interdisciplinary team to reduce inter-professional conflicts;
- prepare formal interagency agreements, or educational policy trust agreements to help negotiate new roles among the interprofessional team;
- share the management of collaborative operations;
- establish common eligibility criteria for clients among the collaborating agencies;
- establish guidelines for shared data collection;

Table 4 (cont.d)

Guidelines for Successful Implementation of School-Home-Community Programs

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Allocating and Deploying Resources

- provide adequate space and resources for program operation;
- provide technical assistance to collaborators;
- identify funding sources that provide stability during the implementation phase and sufficient resources to foster real change;

Implementing Powerful, Research-Based Instructional Practices

- promote changes in core instructional practices in the classroom, do not rely only upon "add-on" programs to improve the delivery of educational services;
- provide school personnel with information and training on effective instructional and organizational practices;
- provide for monitoring to assure faithful implementation of any improvement effort;
- establish and assess intermediate benchmarks of successful implementation (e.g., new instructional practices being implemented appropriately, student are fully engaged in the modified instructional program);
- engage in the process of continuous of assessment and refinement of the newly implemented program to assure that it is meeting the needs of the students.

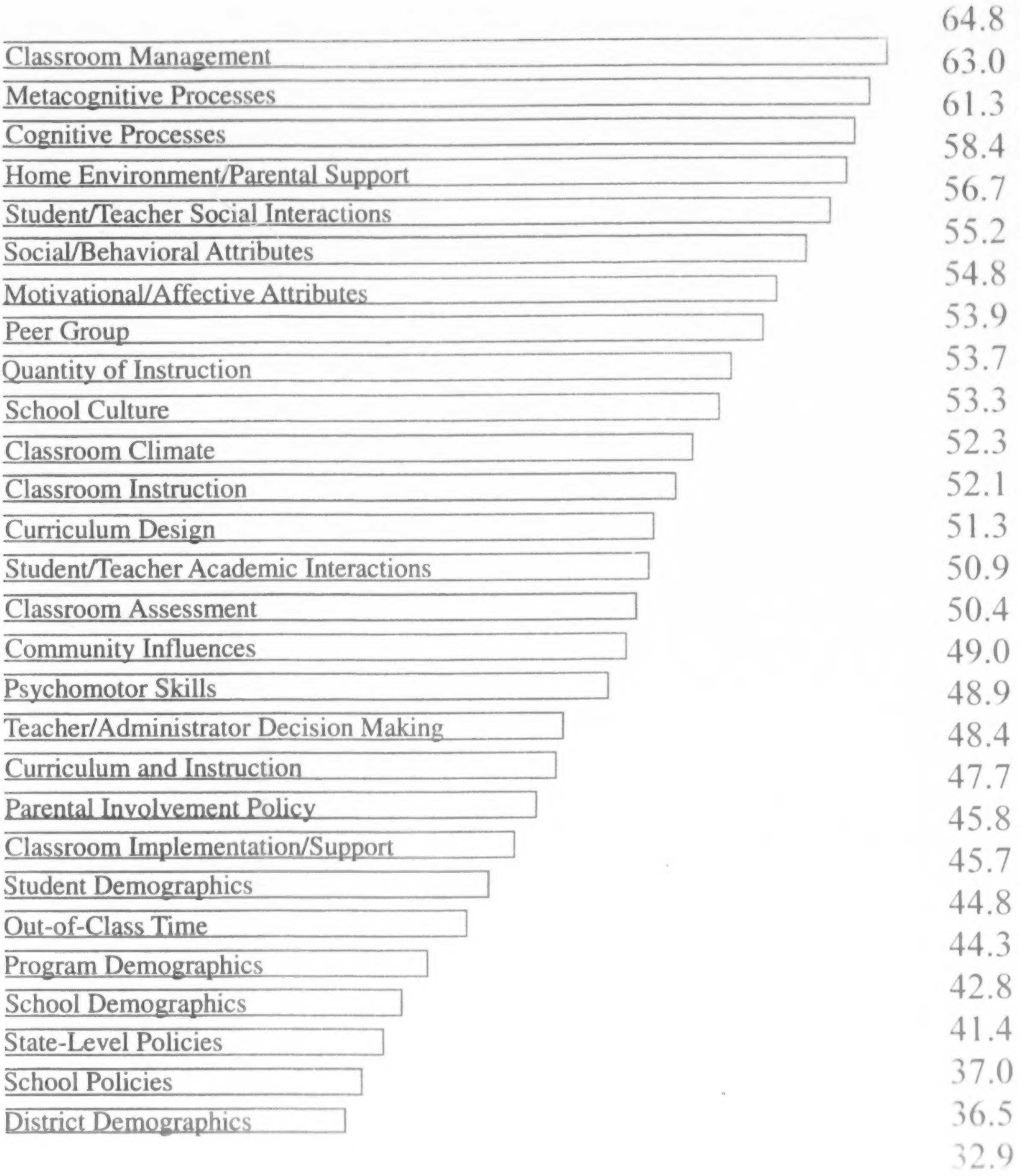

Figure 1. Relative Influences on Learning.

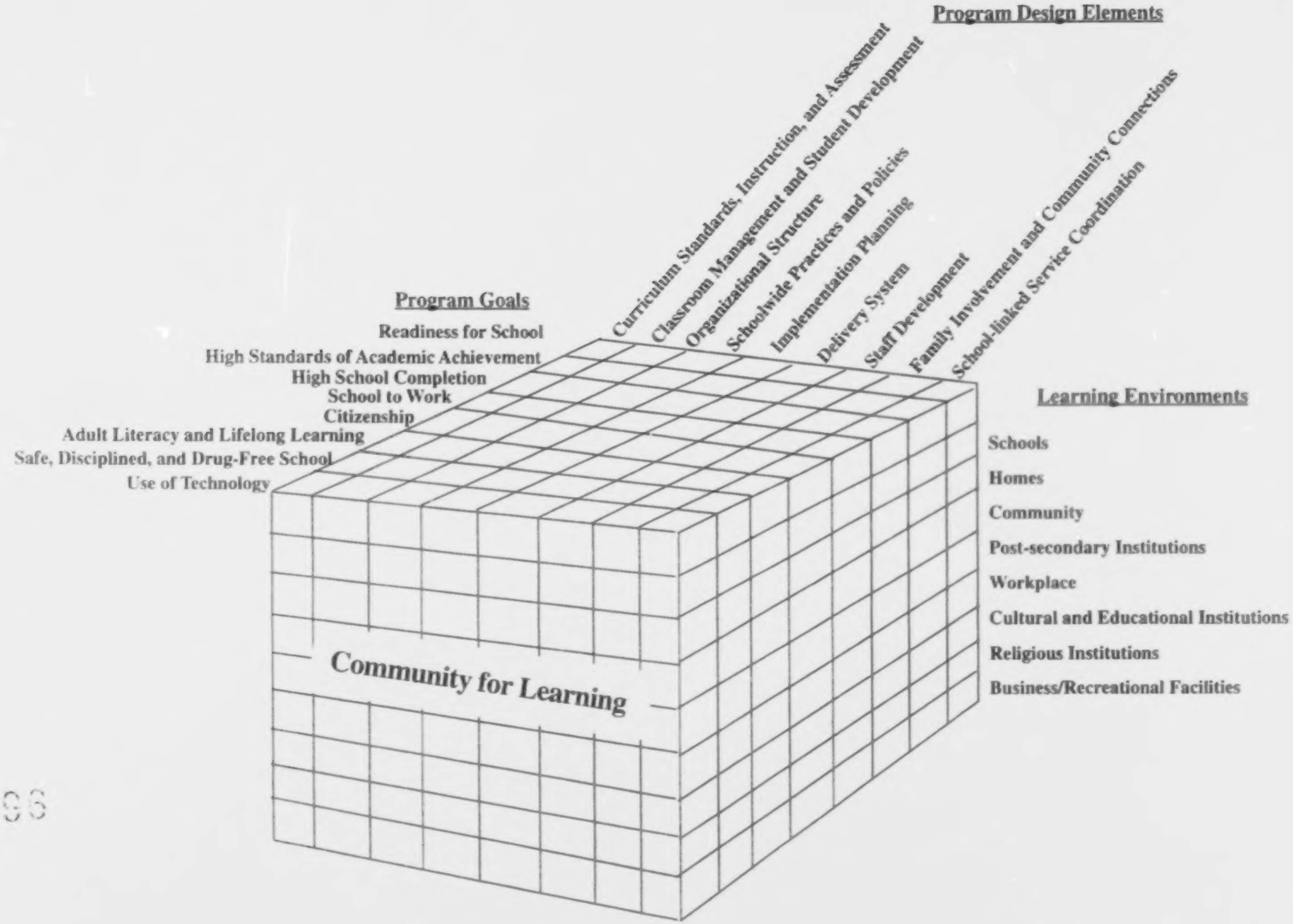
Program Design Elements
Curriculum Standards, Instruction, and Assessment
Classroom Management and Student Development
Organizational Structure
Schoolwide Practices and Policies
Implementation Planning
Delivery System
Staff Development
Family Involvement and Community Connections
School-linked Service Coordination
Program Goals
Readiness for School
High Standards of Academic Achievement
High School Completion
School to Work
Citizenship
Adult Literacy and Lifelong Learning
Safe, Disciplined, and Drug-Free School
Use of Technology
Learning Environments
Schools
Homes
Community
Post-secondary Institutions
Workplace
Cultural and Educational Institutions
Religious Institutions
Business/Recreational Facilities
Community for Learning

Figure 2. Program Goals, Design Elements, and Learning Environments of the Community for Learning Program.

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Chapter 5

Neighborhood Initiatives, Community Agencies, and the Public Schools: A Changing Scene for the Development and Learning of Children

By William Lowe Boyd, Robert L. Crowson, and Aaron Gresson

A malnourished or hungry child cannot learn. A child with no coat or head-covering amid winter's chill may be defenseless against the germs flourishing in his or her overcrowded classroom. A child never examined for poor eyesight, never vaccinated, and never offered a dental checkup may be doomed to academic failure. A child of poverty may require society's care and the fulfillment of some basic human needs as a precondition to any successful encounter with the 3R's.

These were the insights of educators a century ago. A key innovation, a true reform, in public education was the recognition in Progressive-era America that lunches and even breakfasts, school nurses, medical and dental inspections, social workers, regular clothing drives, and guidance counselors may be vital components of successful schooling. Such additions of service were not without difficulty, for many early-in-the-century neighborhoods were distrustful of the motives of those who were medically "inspecting" their children. However, the notion of the public school as a center of not-just-pedagogical offerings to its community has a long and rich history (Tyack, 1992).

This rich history has today achieved new vitality—in a movement toward a much-enhanced (and even a service-coordinated) use of the public school as the center of "outreach" to children and families. The notion of the "full-service school" (Dryfoos, 1994) brings a renewed recognition of interdependencies between the development and learning of children, and the health of schools/families/communities (Crowson & Boyd, 1993). Today's recognition is that the "social capital" found in strong homes and strong communities can play a necessary role in children's learning—and it thus behooves the public school to try to reach out, and indeed to "invest" in the creation of such vitalities in their own neighborhoods. The "school's very capacity to educate children," claimed sociologist James Coleman (1994, p. 34), requires that it "function in a way that strengthens communities and builds parental involvement with children."

Beyond the school, there are also special, parallel efforts now that draw on deep turn-of-the-century traditions to "strengthen communities." A settlement-house movement in Progressive-era America believed that the restoration of "social organization" and of "order" to neighborhoods (amid the economic and social chaos of their direst-poverty conditions) could serve residents as a key stepping-stone into the labor market and toward social mobility (Halpern, 1995). The settlement houses also provided services—a wide array of them, from nurseries and day-care centers, to employment assistance, to libraries and reading rooms, to free medical clinics, to "classes" by the score for parents and their children (Philpott, 1978). "Progressive reformers tended to believe," writes Robert Halpern (1995, p. 29), "that the best way to help integrate poor neighborhoods and their residents into the larger society was to first strengthen these neighborhoods and then try to link them to the outside world."

Strengthening neighborhoods and "linking them" constitutes a second "movement" with new, modern-day vitality. There has been a renewed, nationwide attention focused on neighborhood revitalization, tackling economic issues and the "empowerment" of poor communities as a societal priority. Much of the thrust for this movement comes from the July, 1995 publication of President Clinton's National Urban Policy Report. Entitled "Empowerment: A New Covenant with America's Communities," this report offers the nation a "Community Empowerment Agenda" focusing upon family self-sufficiency and independence through employment, a renewed encouragement of private investment in urban communities, and a locally or "grassroots" driven strategy of action. The Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community (EZ/EC) initiative (as this movement is labeled) seeks to generate "strategies for change that combine innovative economic development initiatives with essential human capital and community building investments" (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1995, p. 44).

Thus, interestingly, we have two contemporary urban-reform thrusts, in parallel, both with deep and even common historical roots: the press toward coordinated children's services (full-service schooling) in public education, on the one hand; and the press toward an economic and social regeneration of poor neighborhoods on the other. Each of these movements promises to be comprehensive, multifaceted, and integrative. However, Deborah Cohen (1995, p. 36) has observed, public schools "have seldom played more than a bit part" thus far in neighborhood revitalization. What might be some key differences in assumption, structure, action, and impact between them? What are the implications of one movement for the other? Just how compatible is urban school reform with the revitalization thrust? How well could revitalization and "empowerment" blend into the work of the public school? What are the potentialities in these simultaneous movements for "a changing scene" around the development and learning of children?

Coordinated Services Initiatives

A renewed interest in a much-broadened mission for the public school—toward coordinated children's and family services—has captured considerable attention among American communities nationwide. Experimentation is under way at multiple sites in nearly every state in the nation, with varying combinations of public and private (philanthropic) funding. The "services" provided by any given project can vary widely, and projects can vary in their exact locations, from school-based, to school-linked, to community-based. However, it is not unusual for coordinated services efforts to typically include health clinics and health education, family-assistance/support, family counseling, adult education, parenting education, child care, and youth/family recreation (see Driscoll, Boyd, & Crowson, 1996a).

Intellectual support for coordinated services initiatives is derived from three basic understandings. First, the services movement has coincided with a firm appreciation and understanding of that which John Goodlad (1987) has labeled "the new ecology of schooling." The realization here among the proponents of coordination is that school, family, and community are vitally interdependent and that the development and learning of children depend heavily upon the many supports available to them in their neighborhood environments (see, Comer, 1980). Enhancing parental involvement in the learning process, collaboration and "sharing" between families and educators, and a much closer attentiveness to the home on the part of educators are all elements of a new ecological sense of learning connections (Epstein, 1988, 1990). These, along with an array of other supports and services (e.g., health and recreation services, good housing, community development, libraries) form "a network of learning environments" (Fantini, 1983).

Second, as mentioned above, the services effort recognizes with James Coleman (1994) that the "social capital" that schools find in their surrounding neighborhoods, and among the parents of their pupils, may require considerable bolstering. Schools are far more effective for children from strong family backgrounds. Thus, in a role the public schools have become increasingly uncomfortable in undertaking following the Progressive Era, the modern perspective now returns to a full appreciation of "outreach" in education. If indeed there is a network of learning environments from home to school to community, service-coordination advocates argue, it may be necessary for public education to move beyond the legendary "four-walls" of the school building in order to create some of the social capital that is requisite to their own success. To do so, adds James Comer (1980, 1984, 1988), the overall "development" of children, and not just the narrowly academic achievement of children, must become the central perspective of the school.

Finally, in sharp contrast to the ecology and "wholeness" of the coordinated services effort, is the ongoing system for the delivery of services to children and families that is often heavily fragmented. Not only are services for children and families seldom located in convenient proximity, but they have also tended to grow over the years into very separate professional fiefdoms and "categories" of assistance—with little commonality of procedure or purpose, and with little that delivers mutually reinforcing messages to a community clientele. To those persons who advocate coordinated services, the sense is that multiple family needs cannot be addressed piecemeal, and therefore a serious strategy of assistance must attempt to bring the differing service frameworks and their specialized professionals cooperatively to bear upon common problems (Kirst & Kelley, 1995).

Together, these three perspectives (i.e., a new sense of "ecology," a recognition of the need to build social capital, and a halt to fragmentation in service delivery) frame an ongoing implementation struggle for the coordinated-services movement. Much of the focus of program implementation thus far has been on the last of these values (fragmentation-removal)—toward a new integration and linking of children and family services around a shared clientele. However, despite the excellent assistance of a number of well-crafted handbooks for practitioners, evidence of successful service integration has not been abundant (Crowson & Boyd, 1993; White & Wehlage, 1995).

As a major reason, we find that the deeply rooted political and organizational constraints surrounding service coordination are substantial. Differing professional cultures and incentive systems are brought into uneasy contact; shared information around a common clientele finds a struggle against traditions of professional autonomy and "turf;" categorical funding and categorical rules/regulations do not commingle well; and professional languages which are separately equipped to discuss the educational or health or welfare needs of children are not very comfortable with "the whole" (Crowson & Boyd, 1993, 1996; Smrekar, 1996). Additional constraints derive from the short-term foundation-sponsored funding of much experimentation to date—a source of pressure for reform that is not ideally suited to lasting, deeply structured changes in organizational and professional behavior (Smrekar, 1996; also Orland & Foley, 1996).

Interestingly, as the coordinated-services effort has developed, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the fragmentation-removal aspect of the movement may be the least of its significant elements. Possibly far more important are the implications for schools and communities that have developed out of the "ecology" and "social capital" assumptions. Indeed, the services phenomenon has helped to identify some watershed considerations of school-community relations in educational reform at a time when the popular acceptance and the very "legitimacy" of public education in the nation may be in substantial decline (Crowson, Boyd, & Mawhinney, 1996). The family and children's services idea has added fuel to a long, unresolved debate about the separate roles of parents and professionals, the roles of professionals other than educators in children's development, the roles of the lay citizenry in school programs and governance, and even the overall institutional role of the school in relation to the modern welfare state (Cibulka, 1996).

It would be our observation, in agreement with White and Wehlage (1995), that the test for community services is far less in its success in coordinating resources and services than in reshaping the priorities and practices of schools toward a much closer understanding of, and even partnership with, the family and neighborhood clientele. Furthermore, the test for community services may be far less its case-by-case distribution of added assistance to individual families and children than its capacity for "fostering networks of interdependency within and among families, neighborhoods, and the larger community"—that is, in firmly re-establishing learning connections and in building social capital (White & Wehlage, 1995, p. 35).

All in all, however, the movement to coordinate children's services (with direct or indirect linkages to the public schools) remains a nascent and early developing phenomenon. The "grassroots" nature of most experimentation to date ensures widespread variation in scope and procedure. Projects "gone out of business" are as common as projects newly in business. State action to encourage and organize service-coordination is prominent in some regions, little to be seen in others. The development of national organizations and forums for professional development in this field is embryonic; and there has been little progress toward a large-scale, systematic collection of data around the "outcomes" these programs can produce (Driscoll, Boyd, & Crowson, 1996b; Orland & Foley, 1996).

Community Development Initiatives

Thus, it remains to be seen whether the coordinated services movement will manage to establish "staying power" among the array of strategies for urban school reform. Meanwhile, an alternative paradigm, focusing on community development rather than delivery of services is gaining considerable attention. While the local school can be considered the logical and indeed most well-situated place of deployment for community outreach, there are others who argue that our beleagured and much-criticized schools should not be burdened with these additional duties. Some critics continue to raise questions about the appropriateness and legitimacy of "social roles" for the schools beyond the 3R's. The schools and their professionals, it is claimed, should be left alone to teach.

Other critics see the local school as a very poor choice for leadership in community development—for the city school simply does not have a very glorious track record of "openness" to its families and its neighborhood. Finally, critics note that the central notion of "service" to a community fails to address appropriately the more deep-seated problems of urban development. Many of these critics urge a more focused attention to broader, neighborhood-revitalization strategies, tackling economic and empowerment issues as a first priority (with spill-over into but less direct dependence on the schools) (Cohen, 1995).

The community development (or neighborhood revitalization) strategy derives much of its strength, first, in the sense of a "larger picture" than that which typically drives the coordinated services movement. The notion that the neighborhood is a reflection of leadership and regeneration/renewal citywide is a key part of this strategy (Judd & Parkinson, 1990; Gittell, 1992). A parallel idea, offered by Weeres and Kerchner (1996), goes well beyond the local school and its array of services to a picture of public education as a fundamental part of the "basic industry" of the city. Schools, as much as other institutions, help to heal cities, and help to serve as agencies of cities' civic and economic growth.

Second, the community development perspective offers a further (and a deeper) broadening of already much-widened understandings of child development. Closely linked to a fairly narrow notion of "social capital," the coordinated services movement places "care" (e.g., health care, family assistance) and education hand-in-hand developmentally (Comer, 1980, 1984, 1988). The neighborhood revitalization strategy recognizes, however, that a child's development is also much affected by broad-based community conditions and investments that go beyond "care," such as housing quality, parks and recreation opportunities, employment and training, law enforcement, etc. (see Haveman & Wolfe, 1994). Typically, however, the size of the public investment in a child-development infrastructure in inner-city neighborhoods falls far short of comparable investments in suburbia (Littell & Wynn, 1989).

Third, there is an up-from-the-community sense to much of the neighborhood-revitalization movement that has yet to penetrate deeply into coordinated services experimentation. The language of empowerment, enterprise, self-reliance, indigenous leadership, entrepreneuralism, mobilization, and restoration is to be found throughout discussions of community development (Garr, 1995). Typically, this is not the language of professional social-services providers, including educators, who are likely to find comfort in a discussion of "meeting needs" above "enterprise." In addition, institutions such as neighborhood churches, local banks, welfare rights groups, citizens' action councils, food banks, and community youth centers have been much more likely to date to serve as cooperating partners in revitalization rather than service coordination.

The community revitalization approach has received much thrust from the July, 1995 publication of President Clinton's National Urban Policy Report. Entitled "Empowerment: A New Covenant with America's Communities," (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1995) this report offers a "Community Empowerment Agenda," focusing on family self-sufficiency and independence through employment, a renewed encouragement of private investment in urban communities, and a locally or grassroots-driven strategy of action.

For the more severely distressed of the nation's urban communities, the Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community (EZEC) initiative is attempting to generate "strategies for change that combine innovative economic development initiatives with essential human capital and community building investments" (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1995, p. 44). The heaviest stress is placed on a transition into employment, job training, private and public partnerships in the stimulation of economic activity, and such quality-of-life improvements as better housing and anti-crime initiatives. The focus is also heavily on self-determination above governmental largesse. Consolidated services are by no means efforts ruled out in the President's Report; indeed, integrated human services which link health, education, family assistance, and job training are specifically mentioned and encouraged.

The idea of an "Enterprise Zone" is generally credited to a 1978 speech by Sir Geoffrey Howe, a member of the British House of Commons (Butler, 1991). From the start, the focus has been on the economic improvement of poor neighborhoods through a strengthening of indigenous community institutions, through investment incentives and the encouragement of public-private partnerships, and through a preference for market forces above direct governmental intervention (Green, 1991).

There is considerable appeal in the low-regulation, block-grant, and bottom-up strategies of the enterprise concept—especially in contrast to the earlier, over-federalized methods of the Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) Program for inner-city economic development (Watson, Heilman, & Montjoy, 1994; Halpern, 1995). Nevertheless, many unresolved questions remain about the combination of public and private roles in neighborhood revitalization. As Green and Brintnall (1994) note, there is not a great deal of potential for private investment now to be found in many distressed communities. Simultaneously, most of the key resources in the lives of community residents continue to derive from public sources (e.g., transfer payments, public education, police protection, public health, public transportation).

Indeed, those continuing to focus on the schools in communities-children-families initiatives point to the omnipresence of the local school as a significant element. The public school is one of the last, ongoing, stable institutions remaining in many distressed neighborhoods. It is an institution of substance, with a long tradition of its own in the difficult game of "development."

Services and Development: A Comparison

Outreach to children and families through, for example, assisting in the growth of social capital, bringing together the forces necessary to improve learning, bridging the gap between parents and educators is by no means incompatible with notions of community revitalization through enterprise and empowerment. Nevertheless, there are basic ingredients that differ, including key assumptions regarding (a) the utility of indirect stimuli to economic development versus the direct provision of services, (b) the central importance of job growth and business formation versus meeting very basic welfare needs of poor families and their children, and (c) the core value of unleashing a community's entrepreneurial spirit (Craig & Mayo, 1995) versus that of finding a partnership between parents and their schools.

Linked with these differing assumptions (holding at bay explorations of accommodations between them) are some very deep dilemmas surrounding neighborhood revitalization. On the one hand, observes Robert Halpern (1995, p. 12), the history of neighborhood development "reflects a persistent tendency to ask those with the fewest capital, institutional, and human resources to draw on those resources to better their lives." The "basic stuff" of most inner-city neighborhoods is owned by people outside the neighborhood giving rise to the question, "How can market mechanisms be made to work in communities that are outside the market?" (Halpern, 1995, p. 12). On the other hand, continues Halpern (1995, p. 15), the public schools rail against inattentive parents, drug-infested streets, and poorly motivated students, while failing to realize that "children will not struggle to succeed in school if there seems to be no purpose for doing so." A lack of individual opportunity has close connections with market-borne sources of neighborhood abandonment, dilapidation, and despair.

Arguably, there is also a dilemma of importance, with deep historical roots, behind the "service" approach to revitalization versus the "market" approach. Theda Skocpol (1992) writes that a significant element in the progressive-era beginnings of children and family services was the concerted effort to protect the poor (particularly women and children) from the ravages of the market. Interpreted by Skocpol (1992) as a "maternalism" in the development of service institutions, the intent was to push for "healthy" homes and neighborhoods, what's "good" for families and children, and a renewal of the "social" realm of life—as a balance against the industrial. A residue of distrust against the market among human service professionals, has not been lost today (Hasenfeld, 1992)—perhaps for good reason, as it is often the marginal employer paying and working employees under sweatshop conditions who locates in the inner city. Protecting families from the worst aspects of the market may currently be no less salient in community development than at the turn of the century. Nevertheless, the core values that Skocpol (1992) finds in human service organizations square poorly with a new language under the EZ/EC construct of self-reliance, incentives-to-labor, subsidized local development, and tax-based incentives for business.

A third dilemma for schools and communities (whether developing, serving, or both) is to be found in differing interpretations of and assumptions about "empowerment." Despite a nineteenth-century tradition of community-centeredness, the twentieth-century legacy has more aptly been one of "disconnection" between schools and their communities (Crowson, 1992). A need to preserve strong norms of professional discretion against private-regarding parents and narrow-minded communities was a theme as early as 1932 in the work of Willard Waller; and generations of school administrators in the U.S. have been trained around the dangers of losing managerial control to the "politics" of their communities (Iannaccone, 1989). Curiously, parental involvement has long been recognized as essential to successful learning for children, but this recognition has failed over time to translate into a full partnership between parents and schools (Sarason, 1995). Efforts to truly involve and empower parents in public education are of very recent vintage, and are still (as in Chicago school reform) regarded as "experimental."

The legacy may be a bit better in the arena of community development. Government (particularly federal) initiatives have also struggled mightily in this century with issues of participation and empowerment. Indeed, from "urban renewal" in the 1950s, to "maximum feasible participation" in the 1960s, to the Model Cities and Community Development Corporations of more recent times—the issue of participation (let alone empowerment) has remained largely unresolved (Halpern, 1995). Nevertheless, an emergence of "direct action strategies" (through the interventions of such community organizers as Saul Alinsky) has left at least a bit of residue in many cities of neighborhood mobilization and community organization (Halpern, 1995; Wiewel & Gills, 1995). Already existing community organizations are considered important resources on which to build the Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities (Gittell, Bockmeyer, Lindsay, & Newman, 1996).

However, while empowerment for educators can be described as a tradition of power-over by professionals, the descriptors best applied to "Empowerment Zone" thinking are no clearer, or more encouraging. There is an economic sense of empowerment to the movement and a political sense—with a dilemma between them of "fit." On an economic level, President Clinton's Urban Policy Report describes a community empowerment agenda as a way for the federal government to create opportunity in the private sector, empowering people and firms to assume local and community responsibility (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1995, p. 48). Mayo and Craig (1995, p. 4) note, in explanation, that this agenda is part of a larger philosophy to "roll back the state," to reduce spending on social welfare and "promote alternative solutions based on the market." The key assumption is that market forces in poor neighborhoods can indeed replace the power and the resources from publicly supplied services and governmental "largesse."

On the political side, Empowerment Zone initiatives have already encountered an array of unresolved tensions between the city, community organizations, private-sector developers, and "the people." In a review of efforts underway thus far in six cities, for example, a team led by Marilyn Gittell concluded that the program has:

> ...forced development interests to divert their gaze from the central business district (CBD) to low-income neighborhoods, but it did not force a shift in power to the community level. While the new EZ was to create partnerships between private enterprise and neighborhoods, significant relationships have yet to emerge. (Gittell et al., 1996, p. 4).

In short, in what is hoped to be a "comprehensive" solution to community revitalization (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1995), the central power-related dilemma is likely to continue to be the one highlighted by White and Wehlage (1995), in their study of the Annie E. Casey Foundation's "New Futures" experimentation. These authors noted, "the major issue is how to get whole communities, the haves and the have-nots, to engage in the difficult task of community development" (White & Wehlage, 1995, p. 37).

Issues and Implications in Community Revitalization for the Development and Learning of Children

Differing assumptions about (a) the power of the market against provisions of needed services; (b) job-creation against a strengthening of social capital; (c) the "entrepreneurial spirit" of a community against the "caring" spirit of a community; and (d) a private-sector emphasis against the public sector reaffirmed are sure to lead to significant difficulties in a more comprehensive partnering between the public schools and "developer" interests. Similarly, differing historical traditions, suspicions, and accomplishments around participation and empowerment may create deep cleavages between partnering organizations—cleavages which develop out of conflicting values regarding the saliency and legitimacy of truly empowering community residents, of working with all neighborhood institutions (e.g., churches, clubs, retail shops, community organizations), and trusting the legitimacy of varying neighborhood leaders (e.g., local organizers, ward politicians, gang chiefs).

In an initiative completely unknown to the strategies of most educators for example, the state of Tennessee has recently undertaken an "Individual Development Account (IDA) demonstration program." Participants in this pilot program can "deposit money into an escrow account which can be matched up to $5,000 without affecting their AFDC or Food Stamp benefits...The IDA funds are restricted for use as a down-payment on a house, to start or expand a business venture, or to obtain further education for the individual or their family" (Tennessee Network for Community Economic Development, 1996). From an educator's perspective, such an indirect approach to assistance leaves critical questions unanswered about the welfare and treatment of children, family commitments to education and lifestyle improvement, and the value of learning against the values of materialism and home-ownership. From a "developer's" perspective, the simple accumulation of and control over an "asset" for a family is, in itself, "the primary distinguishing factor" and a central signal of a move out of poverty (Tennessee Network for Community Economic Development, 1996).

Despite many such differences of value and assumption, there may be much for the public schools to gain from a deeper understanding of and an involvement in the EZ/EC initiative. Alternatively, there should be much for EZ/EC promoters to learn from public school traditions of service concentrated on the development and learning of children. We offer three major observations.

Enterprise Schooling

It may now behoove the public school to go beyond its traditions of child development, toward a broader role as a full player in the much larger, full-scale economic, social, human capital, and pedagogical development of its community. More than simply a "service" outreach, the relationship under this reform might now have to do with considerably larger questions of community support from the institution of the school to the remainder of a network of both public and private investors. The most important consequence of this change could be the fundamental alteration of the direction of interaction between schools and their neighborhood environments. In terms used by Gary Wehlage and colleagues (1989), the newly reformed role for the school could be its activation as a "community of support" for the families and children in its orbit.

"Support" is a term long used by educators to describe the responsibilities of parents and the community (particularly financial support) that are required for schools to do their jobs effectively. Non-supportive parents and an inadequately supportive community are among the most common teacher and administrator complaints. Seldom, however, has the profession adequately addressed the degree to which the school can be credited with and held responsible for its support of the home and the larger community.

An extended role for the school, in full support of and supported by its environment touches upon and potentially alters some deeply-rooted structural features in public education. At a theoretical level, the notion of the school as an exercise in supportive outreach to its community has already found considerable strength in the idea of "social capital," as noted earlier. It finds added strength in a new sense of the school as a central source of its own brand of societal "investment" in families, communities, and the development of children (Hawley, 1990; Kagan, 1989; Kagan & Neville, 1993).

As a cooperating "investor," the local school could maintain its 3R's emphasis while cooperating extensively with community-development agencies and other centers of family services. The school can also be a fully active player in a developmentally oriented network of public/private community institutions (from banks, to churches, to employers, to "activists"). Surprisingly, despite the saliency of the school-to-work transition, the school's own role as an employer and purchaser of goods/services has been undervalued. In considering the "products," even the most narrowly defined school contributes to its community (e.g., lunches, health examinations, school-age day care), and considering the school's own accumulation of professionally credentialed "social capital," there has tended to be only a minimal understanding among educators that they too are part of an enterprise.

Yet what has yet to be explored at all in educational reform to date is the possible transition of the public school, under the EZ/EC initiative, from a full-service institution into an "enterprise school." An enterprise school might be expected to join an array of other neighborhood and city institutions in a much-larger-than-services and a more-substantive-than-preparation participation in the development and regeneration of the school's neighborhood environment. Services to children and families should be included, to be sure, but far more fulsome and well-planned relationships may also be necessary with neighborhood churches, businesses, community organizers, housing authorities, the parks department, the police, youth organizations, and the city at large.

Empowerment Dilemmas

Empowerment has been much more clearly recognized in the shaping of enterprise strategies than in children's services planning. This is not very difficult to understand. A provision of added professional services to families and communities can very easily proceed (and usually does) with only minimal involvement of the "client" in decision processes. Most of the key issues in service coordination (e.g., questions of professional turf, control of/confidentiality in client information, overcoming fragmented rules structures, co-mingling of resources) are issues of traditional professions-dominated service delivery (Crowson and Boyd, 1993). The struggle between the professionals-know-best (for the good of the client) and the client-knows-best (for his or her own good) constitutes an unresolved battle of values, with deep historical roots in the progressive-era origins of the family-services and school-outreach constructs.

In development-language terms, there has been a cost to this approach. Much of the focus in the children's services movement has been on the supply of added services to a presumably needy community. Generally, much less attention has been paid to the community's demand for assistance. From the supply side, an array of new options for assistance, added professional expertise, and often some connecting personnel (e.g., family advocates) are made available to a targeted clientele. From the demand side, the new service offerings may be somewhat less important than a sense of welcome, a partnership in development, a celebration of community, a sense of need from the clients' perspectives, and communication to families that they are shareholders in an enterprise with the school and its professionals.

The indirectness of economic development is necessarily demand-oriented. To economists, a supply (of services) approach may create a false demand. White and Wehlage (1995, p. 29) concluded from their examination of the New Futures initiatives in collaborative services that one key impediment to success was "the disjuncture between a specific collaborative policy and the actual social conditions affecting at-risk youth," where "disjuncture…describes bad policy, usually the result of inadequate and inaccurate knowledge about conditions in the communities being served."

Alternatively, EZ/EC strategies may be seriously weakened if there is no effective liaison with service professionals and particularly with the public schools. There is, to be sure, a clear recognition of this among the advocates of community revitalization—that the local schools must be central players. Indeed, in federal grant approval for education there is now steadily increasing attention to additional technology allocations, programming incentives (e.g., priority funding for the gifted, bilingual education, parent training, etc.), and the encouragement of community programs/services (including service integration) within designated

Empowerment Zones (Cohen, 1996). The school-to-work transition, job-readiness training, skills training, courses in entrepreneurship and individual self-sufficiency, after-school programs, and an array of opportunities for family counseling are among the further ingredients in economic development and Empowerment Zone funding to date (Cohen, 1996).

Nevertheless, the emerging notion that neighborhood initiatives should proceed broadly and holistically on many fronts simultaneously (including, for example, education and human services, job creation, community development, community safety, and improved physical surroundings), encounters an organizational environment that has given very little thought as to how thoroughly and greatly institutional reform may be necessary if community regeneration is to occur.

There is an initial question of "mix" to be resolved. In coordinated-services experimentation, it has been discovered that educators do not partner easily with other professionals (Crowson & Boyd, 1993). But there is at least an overall professional aura to most of the health and family-services add-ons to the work of the schools. For educators to collaborate well with non-professionals and with economic and political "activistists" is to ask for a sea-change in perspective and outlook. Indeed, it is to ask (as James Comer does) for a movement that proceeds away somewhat from the individual and small-group focus of educators and other professionals toward collaboration in "societal change for the benefit of the whole community" (Comer, Haynes, Joyner, & Ben-Avie, 1996, p. 39). Such a change in perspective is far beyond the experience and training of most educators, who struggle quite enough with the notion of "the whole child," not to mention the whole community.

There is a second question as to just what it means to "empower." Educators and most service professionals are quite comfortable with a notion of empowerment as follows: "Knowledge is a key element of empowerment and professionals can provide family members with current information about..." (Cohen & Lavach, 1995, p. 271). To go beyond the distribution of knowledge, some training, and providing access to added services toward co-equal participation in governance and in development (of the schools as well as the neighborhood) is to go beyond the comfort level for most educators. And for good reason. Coalitions can form, and opposition can develop. Special favors and "jobs for friends" can become a greater part of the neighborhood currency. Elected politicians may enter the neighborhood "fray," and "old wounds" between neighborhoods and the city at large may be reopened (part of what Grimshaw [1992] labels the "bitter fruit" of city politics). It can become, note Wiewel and Gills (1995, p. 132), the "price of partnership."

Finally, there is the question of major intent. To James Comer, the focus of attention should be on the involvement of "children, families, educators, and community groups and agencies...as full partners in the educational enterprise" (Comer et al., 1996, p. 53). The development and learning of children should be the primary target of "the whole village." To other persons interested in the EZ/EC initiative, the larger economic development of the neighborhood is the better focus. To be sure, a comprehensive community development strategy should include the schools (Wiewel & Gills, 1995); but the schools (despite serving as "anchor institutions" in their neighborhoods) are not central—and indeed the enhanced development/learning of children is regarded as an expected by-product of employed families and improved living conditions rather than as an end-in-itself (Craig & Mayo, 1995; Gittell, et al., 1996). Unless the notion of "enterprise" can more fully encompass the public school and the development of children, the institutional power of public schooling may be moved more and more to the periphery in urban regeneration.

Cultures and Markets

In a movement now regarded as originally focused wrongheadedly upon family and neighborhood deficits rather than strengths, urban educators have for decades had a firm regard for "the cultural" in their work. With a new-found power of fairly substantial federal involvement behind them, the public schools took seriously the 1960's-era terms "culturally deprived" and "culturally disadvantaged." The terminology of that time was biased and prejudiced, and conveyed a lack of rather than a full understanding of culture. But the movement did at least recognize that the values and life ways of home, family, and neighborhood are vital to successful schooling.

Translated from a perspective on the linkages between families and schools into a "model" of economic development, the cultural approach finds itself to be at odds with much of the thinking behind the EZ/EC initiative. As outlined by Meridith Ramsay (1996), the difference is between a "market model" of development and "urban regime theory." The central hypothesis of the indirect assistance and incentives-based EZ/EC initiative is that enriched individual opportunity will grow out of inducements to invest in distressed communities (thereby creating jobs and business opportunities), if combined with incentives for community organizations and residents to participate in their own neighborhood development (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1995). As an alternative, urban regime theory hypothesizes that economic restructuring may be much more heavily shaped by the cultural context of each neighborhood (e.g., local history, social structures, cultural values, long established power relations) than by independent "market" forces (Ramsay, 1996).

The importance of considering culture as well as market in community development is explained by Ramsay (1996, p. 123) as a central problem of equilibrium. Market solutions assume that people will respond to incentives, an awareness of opportunities will indeed produce movements toward them, a distressed community desires economic improvement, participation will develop, and that which is supplied by a market will serve to create demand (e.g., for jobs). However, among populations that have long been excluded from and are longtime non-participants in the traditional economy, such assumptions may be less than fully warranted. The public schools tend to know well the difficulties in securing parent participation, in bridging "discontinuities" between the cultures of home and school (Ogbu, 1974), and in opening new horizons to a defeat-hardened clientele. James Comer put it succinctly in observing that one of the tough, early problems in community development is learning how to reduce the use of those structures and services which "maintain the status quo" (see Emmons, Comer, & Haynes, 1996, p. 35).

On the other hand, if the schools bring a better understanding of culture to the economic development table, the EZ/EC initiative brings a better understanding of choice and investment. Despite many discussions of improved investments in the "social capital" of their neighborhoods, the public schools have had difficulty understanding the notion that they serve many constituencies beyond area students and their families. The schools are "embedded institutions," observes Alan Peshkin (1995), with many constituent interests among (and benefits offered to) the law enforcement community, the business community, religious and ethnic communities, the media, those who are concerned with health and welfare issues, city government, the military, and on and on. Few educators, concludes Peshkin (1995, p. 256), have received "training that helps them understand the magnitude and meaning of institutional embeddedness and how to find opportunity in its profusion of constituent voices."

In a similar vein, the public schools have traditionally failed to pay much attention to the incentive structures that surround these differing constituencies, incentive structures that can vitally affect their own success. To be sure, urban educators know full well that gang associations are often in extremely powerful competition with the school's curriculum. Educators are also deeply aware of the days and hours of instruction lost among older children who are kept at home to care for younger siblings, and of the costs in instructional time lost to inadequate family care and poor health. However, the larger incentive structure of the surrounding community is seldom given adequate notice—a problem that Halpern (1995, p. 214) aptly describes as follows:

> A child's motivation to stick with schooling depends in part on evidence in his or her community environment that doing so will

pay off economically. It will be difficult to convince a child to stick with schooling if no one that child knows has a regular job.

Summary and Conclusion

In brief summary, we note that turn-of-the-century dilemmas in urban regeneration are coming into sharply renewed focus as the current century closes. Should a professionalized delivery of (essential to learning and development) services to families be emphasized over strategies for employment and impacts-upon-families effects upon economically revitalized neighborhoods? Does a rediscovery of incentives and "the market" offer new hope for urban America, at a time of apparently widespread disaffection with service bureaucracies and a transfer-paying government? Have the professionally defined needs of children and families lost the utility that can derive from a clearer communication of demand? Is an improvement in the welfare, learning, and development of children an acceptable and likely spin-off from an improved local economy, or does neighborhood revitalization spin off more effectively from the "social capital" flowing out of service-rich schooling?

These questions should produce "both" rather than "either-or" responses. Yet current initiatives in revitalizing urban America are in serious danger of moving in an either-or direction. A drive toward the coordination of learning-related services for children and families recognizes the power of outreach beyond the school into the development of social capital, and recognizes important linkages between the classroom and family/child welfare. However, the movement to coordinate children's services has had difficulty thus far in demonstrating staying power, in overcoming the fragmentation and bureaucratization it was meant to address, and in effectively connecting to its community clientele. Alternatively, the "enterprise" approach to neighborhood revitalization is more broad-based, is wrapped within vital economic incentives, and is more in tune with neighborhood social conditions or demand. The EZ/EC initiative, however, is also relatively untested and is heavily biased toward market solutions in economies that have few market allegiances and traditions.

The importance of bringing together the centuries-old traditions of service and market has now been well recognized by many urban politicians. Mayors of many of the nation's cities "watched from the sidelines as the troubles in their local schools mounted," notes Hendrie (1996, p. 1). Currently, ranging from direct takeover, to standards setting, to personnel replacement actions, to more active levels of "support" for the schools—the trend is decidedly away from the sidelines, toward mayoral intervention in public education. "Too many problems in the cities," observes the director of the Council of the Great City Schools, "are overlapping" (Hendrie, 1996, p. 18).

It is a tall order to suggest that the public schools, beleaguered as they are, should begin to play a more active role as partners in the empowerment and economic revitalization of their communities. Yet it is a notion well worth further exploration and analysis. Ideas of importance here are the observations that: (a) added assistance to families and children, while vital, can fail to "reach" if the full involvement of parents and the community is not a simultaneous goal; (b) the local school should be recognized as a part of the "basic industry" of the city, with economic and community-development responsibilities that go well beyond mere "delivery" of services; and (c) powerful neighborhood revitalization strategies should proceed from the realization that in poor neighborhoods "physical, economic, and social, individual and collective, adult and child well-being are all interconnected" (Halpern, 1995, p. 198). More than full-service, the local school might well be refashioned conceptually into an "enterprise school."

Just what would this mean for school reform? It is already recognizably difficult to alter local schools—institutions which do have a service orientation—toward a community outreach far beyond the narrowly educational. The added issues to be addressed in contemplating a further transition toward enterprise schools in urban neighborhoods would go well beyond localized focuses on the "developmental" needs of children and families that have usually been the aim of coordinated-services efforts. Partnering with revitalization forces (as well as family welfare forces) in a neighborhood, might mean tackling issues of economic incentives; employment options and training; a neighborhood's attractiveness to investment capital; adult education alongside children's education; and partnering with such economic institutions as banks, retail businesses, insurers, and property owners—those persons whom educators tend to regard as "just out to make money."

It could take a serious rethinking of school, community, and family connections, as James Cibulka (1996, p. 429) has argued recently, with a "transformation" (not just reform) of the schools, and "a new approach to the welfare state." Similarly, in clearly descriptive language, Smrekar (1996, p. 31) concludes that the new economic revitalization and empowerment press in urban education should:

> ...force us to penetrate the veneer that has helped to slide the issue of children's services to the center of the policy table on the naïve and narrow assumption that integrated services will provide more economic and efficient systems for families...Our responses require us to move beyond the erratic and irregular child-saving impulses that have marked earlier actions, to efforts that understand the complexity of the lives of children and their families and the persistence of the dandelions that grow beside them.

If the development and learning of children in urban neighborhoods are to be seriously and conscientiously reformed, the economic regeneration of the city itself, a renewal of economic hope in the lives of families, and a much more thoroughgoing attention to urban "dandelions" will need to receive top national priority.

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Chapter 6

Service Coordination Across Government Agencies

By John F. White, Jr. and Tine Hansen-Turton

The common perception of inner cities is that they are non-resourced communities that are impaired by poverty and neglect on all levels. This perception, however, is largely incorrect; urban communities have numerous resources available to them, including, among others, a wealth of academic institutions, cultural centers, business hubs, and health and human service agencies. The real problem is that the resources and services available in the urban communities are not linked but often are highly fragmented.

Urban communities have experienced a decline in educational, social, economic, and health indicators over the last decade. The need for focused comprehensive services for families and proper education for children and youth is therefore tremendous. The focus of this paper is to explore how we from the government level can use the resources available to us to develop coordinated and integrated service delivery systems that can change inner cities into healthy communities for our children and youth.

Establishing carefully planned service coordination and integration across government agencies is one way of turning our nation's cities around. To bring our communities into the 21st century, it is crucial that government becomes the catalyst in providing the structure for local community growth by supporting families and educating our children and youth. The failure in this effort has been to address problems individually rather than holistically. However, problems can only be solved holistically if all parties cooperate and collaborate.

Many urban problems are caused by the fragmented government delivery system that currently exists for families and children in the inner cities. There is often no coordination, set procedures, or communication across government, private, and nonprofit agencies and programs. In addition, these programs often send mixed messages to clients because they have different service philosophies.

Due to the lack of coordination, people often fall through the cracks of noncoherent, even if originally well-intended, government programs (Wang, 1993). For example, for several years smaller public and private community agencies have provided job training assistance and medical and financial assistance to families at risk in the local communities to supplement government programs. However, the agencies' lack of resources and isolation from other service providers have made them less effective through no fault of their own (Chang, Gardner, Watahara, Brown, & Robles, 1991). This is partly due to the lack of coordination and cooperation from government agencies.

The lack of government coordination starts at the federal level. These agencies do not seem to realize that they often serve the same people. There is a real need for federal agencies to communicate more with each other, and conduct cross-departmental planning. This process should start with the leaders of these agencies (Wilson, 1989). Further, these efforts must filter down to all levels of the organizations and agencies, or the process will not be successful. Communication can serve as the first step in effective collaboration. Collaboration on the community level has taken place for decades. The real challenge now is how we help key federal government stakeholders understand that in order for inner cities to survive on a socioeconomic level, service integration on all levels needs to take place.

Government Jobs and Skills: A Case Study Example

Job training and development is one of the crucial areas under the current National Welfare Reform proposal in which there is a real need for government agencies to collaborate. Any training must be tailored to fit jobs that are part of the growth industries. Currently there are several job training programs in the urban communities. There is, however, no real connection between the programs that are being offered, nor is there a comprehensive strategy for leading clients into training programs for decent-paying jobs in growth areas with low turnover rates. In addition, once a client has been placed in a job, there is little or no follow-up and/or counseling support.

In Philadelphia, for example, the quasi-governmental agency which runs job-training and placement programs administers approximately $54 million in federal funds each year (Twyman, 1994). In 1993, this agency trained or placed 8,690 people. However, it has only been moderately successful because its programs have not been employer-driven, and it has not collaborated job needs with other key organizations and employers in the city around their job needs. In addition, clients have been steered toward jobs with high turnover rates, low pay, and little or no benefits.

A study of the agency's placement rate for 27 of its 49 job-training programs showed that 30% of its clients got jobs that lasted for only 90 days (Twyman & DeWolf, 1994). Since the agency only follows its clients for 90 days after placement, it is hard to track the clients' retention rate on the job. In addition, the lack of necessary social support systems that help to ensure job training and employment completion makes the success of these programs more difficult to achieve. If supportive social structures—such as child care, transportation, and counseling—are not in place, job training and readiness in any form will not lead to employment.

The outcome of the 1992 Jobs Corps Class is a further example of the lack of strategic collaboration with regard to job training and readiness. The Jobs Corps is a national program which sends young people from poor neighborhoods to camp-like settings where job skills are taught (LeDuc, Samuel, & Fleishman, 1995). Statistics from the U.S. Department of Labor showed that in 1992, only 12% of the Jobs Corps class was employed in jobs for which they were trained, 26% were employed in jobs for which they were not trained, 19% had entered into schools, the armed forces, or untracked employment, and 43% were either not placed in jobs or their status was unknown (LeDuc et al., 1995).

The above examples suggest that resources need to be strategically linked and formally coordinated to address a broad array of needs. In these examples, training programs should be steered toward jobs with decent pay and low turnover. The U.S. Department of Labor studies job trends and knows in what areas jobs are available. In addition, a more thorough follow-up of clients should be coordinated between the training agencies and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

Trends in Service Coordination Across Agencies

In recognizing the need for government agencies to coordinate with each other, the slowly evolving role of government has moved toward collaboration with both public and private agencies, as expressed by Vice President Gore: "If we are to succeed at the economic rebirth of inner-city America…we must create a full partnership between the private sector, government entities, and the communities themselves" (The President's Community Empowerment Board, 1995, p. 10).

Public and private partnerships are seen by some as an illusion, but have proven over the last decade to be one way for very different ideological institutions to engage in cooperative rather than confrontational exercises to meet common goals. As funding at all levels is shrinking, the future of government lies in its ability to partner with both public and private agencies as well as with local communities.

The federal Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community (EZ/EC) initiative, as well as the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's HOPE VI urban revitalization programs, are examples of federal programs and policies which incorporate collaborations at the community level. These programs offer ways for communities to take control of themselves and create their own futures with the support of government and private agencies. The relaxation of federal regulations and incorporation of tax incentives and wage tax credits into the program are examples of ways the government can make a difference in stimulating local economic development. It is these sorts of policy efforts from the top that need to trickle down to all communities.

The following are selected examples of small- and large-scale public and private collaborations that have been proven successful. The purpose of these examples is not to give full-fledged descriptions of the programs, but to summarize their highlights. These collaborative efforts are the wave of the future in ensuring healthy communities for our children and youth.

The Tioga County Human Services Agency Model

"As tighter control of public spending is threatened, and the attack on welfare sharpens, the drive to find more effective ways of delivering services is strengthened" (Hadley & Leidy, 1995, p. 28). The Tioga County Human Services Agency offers one such model of effective service delivery. For approximately 10 years, Tioga County, Pennsylvania has successfully run a single-door-access, fully integrated and coordinated health, human, and social service delivery system. The system offers a more effective use and organization of resources and seeks synergy from paid and voluntary action. This system originated in the Children and Youth Department, where administrators forged relationships with the court systems to protect children.

The Tioga County Human Services Agency has been successful for a number of reasons, and it offers several lessons to government agencies that are developing community-oriented and integrated services in a more market-oriented environment. First, it is organized by function rather than by categories. Case managers are multidisciplinary, which means that a family entering the system only needs to work with one case manager to solve its problems. "The family-based case management system concentrates on treatment of the whole family rather than just an individual" (J. Kravas, personal communication, June 14, 1996). However, the system retains a core of directly provided services, such as mental health services, child abuse prevention, and general welfare services. Tioga County also uses fully integrated and modern technology, including state-of-the-art computers. This minimizes record-keeping and administrative costs. Once a client enters the system, his or her information is available to all of the appropriate service providers. This eliminates duplication of time and effort for the case managers and service providers, thereby saving the county money. At the same time, it eliminates much frustration for the families (J. Kravas, personal communication, June 14, 1996).

The county has also created a positive environment in which local, smaller voluntary organizations can operate social services. The success of the Tioga County model has largely been due to its ability to build and maintain local support and involvement (Hadley & Leidy, 1995). None of these efforts has been painless, and changing the philosophy of several departments and integrating the systems was highly challenging. But once the community saw the outcome, the product sold itself.

The evaluation of the integrated human services program in 1992 showed that in a comparison of six other similar counties, the other counties spent from three to 40 times as much per client as Tioga County in Human Services Development Funds. Part of the Agency's cost savings was due to the extensive prevention service programs, which are less expensive than other direct service programs (Leidy, 1992).

What is probably most significant about the Tioga County program is that it was started with public funds. It eliminated government red tape, and challenged both the separate agencies and the private providers who were receiving public dollars yet providing few services.

The Tioga County Human Services Agency is an example of a comprehensive service delivery system that could be modeled in other areas. Many will argue that since it is located in a fairly rural county, its system would not work in cities because of lack of political support for such an effort. Tioga County, however, has proven that public dollars can be saved once systems are integrated.

School-linked Services

Another excellent way of reaching the needs of our children and youth is through collaborative school-linked services (Wang, et al., 1994). School-linked services are not a new concept; in fact, they have existed for decades in many European countries. The purpose of integrating these services is to ensure that children receive proper nourishment services and care during school hours and in their home environment.

As one of the goals of the Mayor's Children and Families Cabinet, Philadelphia has developed Family Centers in 11 of its public schools, with two further Centers in the development stage in the Philadelphia/Camden Empowerment Zone. The Centers' primary function is to integrate and coordinate services for children and youth and their families. While there are Family Centers in several other cities across the country, Philadelphia has the most sites.

Four strategies guide the development of Family Centers:

- *Community development*, which refers to building sustained capacity within and among community members and organizations as well as ongoing needs assessment and effective program development.
- *Resource development*, which includes finding, creating, and leveraging relevant resources within individuals, families, or organizations in the community.
- *Program development*, which refers to new collaborative and seamless methods of accessing programs within communities.
- *Policy development*, which refers to the work of citywide and local governing boards in building systems, creating policies, or eliminating barriers to the efforts of the Family Centers.

Each of the Family Centers in Philadelphia has grown out of a community process. This process brings together families, community leaders, organizers, and agencies to leverage resources and organize as advocates on behalf of children and families. Services include parent education classes, counseling services, mental health services, early intervention, and case management services, as well as linkages to employment and training programs. Ultimately, Family Centers are small-scale integrated systems to facilitate both the health and social well-being of whole families.

Mayor's Children and Families Cabinet

The Mayor's Children and Families Cabinet is an attempt to ensure that all agencies that serve the children and families in Philadelphia work together as a collaborative. The Mayor's Children and Families Cabinet is comprised of directors and heads of city agencies and departments that serve children, youth, and families in Philadelphia. The Cabinet focuses on four realistic priorities: (a) improving school readiness, (b) violence prevention, (c) increasing the number of Family Centers, and (d) youth access centers. Past experience has shown that if a collaborative takes on too much, it is often difficult to accomplish anything. Objectives need to be clear to all partners. Thus, as part of their commitment, agency heads have assigned staff teams to work together in order to accomplish the four priorities. Different committees have been set up to deal with issues related to these priority areas, including policy analysis, research, resource allocation, and information and data sharing.

The most extensive process deals with an analysis of early childhood needs and children's readiness to start school by age 5. A preliminary office, along with a steering committee with key local stakeholders, such as teachers and day care leaders, is studying the trends and issues related to school readiness. The ultimate goal is to come up with a recommendation to the Cabinet to determine whether a newly defined entity within should be established in Philadelphia to link and coordinate all issues and services related to children between birth and age 5.

Philadelphia Housing Authority Partnerships

More personal examples of service coordination across government agencies include the partnerships formed during the past two years at the Philadelphia Housing Authority (PHA). When the new leadership team came on board in 1993, it immediately became apparent PHA was a very isolated agency—an island unto itself and yet serving 48,000 of the most needy residents in Philadelphia. Other public and private entities gave little merit to the important role of PHA and the residents it serves, primarily because the agency had declined into a severe state of disrepair. The support services to residents provided by agencies outside PHA or by PHA itself were not granted to them. The new leadership understood that its success would depend largely on its ability to establish partnerships with other public and private entities that would be able to serve the vast needs of the residents. The following are some examples of successful partnerships that were established and have proven to be successful.

Leadership Task Force

In August 1993, Philadelphia formed a unique partnership aimed at improving the quality of life for the residents of public housing and the communities in which they live, under the leadership of Henry Cisneros, U.S. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, and PHA. The agreement included the development of a 24-month Operational Improvement Plan, as well as the establishment of a 42-member Leadership Task Force in order to support the PHA mission. The Task Force was comprised of representatives from some of Philadelphia's most successful and distinguished private sector corporations and civic institutions. The Task Force also formed 9 committees focusing on: Home Ownership; Financial Management and Accounting; Insurance and Risk Management; Modernization and Rehabilitation; Security Training; Resident Affairs; Marketing; Human Resources and Personnel; and Management Information Systems. Over the two-year period, these committees were instrumental in improving safety, maintenance, and modernization operations, and in implementing training programs, providing recommendations for the administration's resident affairs programs, creating marketing strategies, and assisting PHA's home ownership efforts. The Task Force was proof that the entire agency and resident population benefited more when the relationships between both the public and private agencies were strengthened.

Interagency Conference

In 1994, PHA sponsored its first formal interagency conference. The conference was the first step in engaging and introducing social and human service agencies to PHA's resident services programs. In addition, other collaborative partnerships could be more easily forged if both public and private agencies knew more about each other's programs and organizations. The conference confirmed the suspicion that many outside agencies were unaware of the vast array of programs offered to residents by PHA's in-house social and human services department. If complete collaboration were in place, however, housing authorities across the country would not have to establish their own social and human services departments or divisions. Ideally, these same services would be provided by local human and social services agencies.

Strategic Planning Session for Social Services

As a follow-up to the Interagency Conference, and in response to recommendations from the Leadership Task Force, PHA planned a Strategic Planning Session for Social Services in December, 1995. The purpose of this day-long strategic planning session was to identify and develop baseline services that PHA and social service agencies should provide to all residents. PHA identified one of its 42 developments that is in the modernization planning stage as a prototype. The planning session was privately sponsored, and key representatives from over 70 local, state, and federal public and private social services agencies attended the session. Based on the input and commitment to services from the attendees, a preliminary plan was developed to ensure that the services would be coordinated and delivered in the most efficient and effective manner. Since the planning session was held, independent partnerships, such as community support from the Commerce Department, have developed with agencies to address issues and implement programs.

Health Care Centers

PHA has established several agreements with health care providers to provide comprehensive health services on public housing premises. Studies show that residents in public housing have the highest rate of health problems in Philadelphia, such as cancer, asthma, and tuberculosis. The health risk is highest for the children in public housing who do not receive proper care. Often these same children do not perform well in school. Based on the latest annual study of health centers located on PHA sites, the data show that in the last two years that the health centers have been in existence, no low birth-weight babies have been born. In addition, the local hospital serving one of the developments has experienced a 50% decline in patients who use the emergency room for their primary health care services. Partnerships in this area are working well.

Grants Coordination and Interagency Agreements

PHA is also working with both state and local agencies to coordinate grant writing. Prior to these efforts being put into place, local government agencies would often compete for the same money. Now that there is a mechanism in place—namely monthly meetings—agencies share and collaborate with each other when pursuing grants and funding for programs. PHA has also entered into several agreements with local and state government agencies, such as the Department of Labor and Industry and the Department of Public Welfare, as well as medical colleges and universities, to ensure that services that support PHA residents are coordinated in the most effective manner possible.

Catalysts for Promoting Collaborations

There are many things in our daily environment that can work both for and against collaborative efforts. The following are some examples and suggestions of how policies, funding issues, and leadership can work in promoting partnerships, as well as how some of the pitfalls can be avoided.

Regulation/Legislation

Policies have to accommodate the needs of the local communities. Bureaucratic legislation has often killed excellent visions. Tioga County is an example of how to circumvent some of the regulatory barriers by consolidating the social, human, and health government functions and thereby only adhering to one set of regulations, while using public funds to create comprehensive service coordination. The savings in public funds helped to convince the county that creating integrated services was a viable alternative to the previously used system. The EZ/EC initiative is another example of how public policy and legislation can forge partnerships.

Funding Issues

Lack of funding is the most frequently blamed barrier to any community development, and is often used as an excuse to avoid change and to sustain the status quo. With proper planning, however, this barrier can often be overcome with better budget oversight and collaboration with other agencies. Collaboration between agencies that serve the same purpose and the same clients can save substantial administrative and operations costs by sharing the burden of service delivery. For example, the low cost for human services per client in Tioga County compared to other counties in Pennsylvania—a difference between 6 to 40 times as much per client—is an example that service coordination and integration in the end is more economical.

Leadership

Real leadership, as well as the continuity of leadership, can make a difference in collaborative efforts (Osborne & Gaebler, 1991). Top leadership selects its own priorities. Philadelphia Mayor Edward Rendell, for example, has done a successful job of reaching his priority of balancing the city budget and establishing a fiscal surplus. This effort was reached by his own advocacy and personal involvement in attaining this endeavor.

Any mayor or community leader who makes children and youth his or her focus will be successful. It is this sort of passionate and personal application that needs to occur in the development of priorities and their implementation.

Cost Savings

Although the start-up costs for integrating and coordinating services between both public and private entities can be high, these costs do not compare to the long-term savings from streamlined programs that were once duplicated across agencies. Before the systems were integrated in Tioga County, social workers spent almost 50% of their time performing administrative duties. Once the systems were integrated and there was a single point of contact, however, the social workers were free to do the job for which they were trained. Again, the Tioga County cost comparisons per client compared to other counties in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania proves that government coordination and integration saves money.

Turf/Interest

Any leader must also be able to share his/her vision with other key stakeholders in the community and establish consensus among all players. This is perhaps the hardest issue to deal with when trying to promote service coordination and collaboration across public and private agencies. Again, the personal leadership, open communication, the setting of priorities, and the willingness to share ownership of the programs can make a difference. If the program truly serves the people, key public and private stakeholders will also support it.

The Future of Collaborative Partnerships

Collaborations need to go beyond just public and private partnerships. As stated in the beginning, there is often a wealth of resources in communities which needs to be utilized. As an example, universities can play a major role in the community development. Local universities have a vested interest in the development of the communities that surround them, as well as the well-being of the children and youth in the area. PHA, for instance, has developed several important relationships with universities within close proximity to its developments. Temple University in Philadelphia has adopted Norris Homes Apartments, the development adjacent to its campus. At Norris Homes Apartments, Temple is building an onsite health center, and providing tutoring and educational services to children in the development. Temple is also providing several scholarships for public housing youth and allowing residents access to some of its summer and recreational programs. Temple has also conducted several studies for PHA which have been instrumental in many of the agency's key management decisions.

Another local college, Community College of Philadelphia, is providing GED training to PHA residents, and is managing a scholarship fund for PHA. Commitments and partnerships such as these make a difference in the local community and in the lives of our children and youth.

Foundations are also a supporting element in community development and the promotion of children and youth. It is important that the foundations are looked upon not only as an asset from a funding standpoint, but also as an anchor to sustaining communities. In general, universities and foundations have taken a more studious approach when dealing with community revitalization around children and youth issues. Communities have been "researched out"—it is now time to take action. Models have been studied, and although they are not all transferable, we know which ones work and which ones do not work. It is now time for both universities and foundations to step into communities and assist government in making much needed changes.

Promoting Partnerships

As noted earlier, the EZ/EC initiative is an example of where government has successfully promoted collaborations and partnerships. There are other smaller steps the government can take to facilitate these kinds of efforts. For example, government is now requiring partnerships and collaborations when issuing Notices of Funding Availability (NOFAs), as well as other grants. Many of these stipulations require applicants to collaborate with civic and private agencies and local community groups.

The current Jobs-Plus Community Revitalization Initiative for Public Housing Families is one example of how some government agencies are forging partnerships. The Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC), in partnership with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, The Rockefeller Foundation, and other philanthropies, is assisting urban communities in dealing with the new national and state policies that restrict time limits for welfare. Since the majority of public housing residents in urban communities frequently receive public welfare benefits, it makes sense to target this population.

This exciting initiative requires collaboration between local and state job-training agencies, the welfare departments, social and human service agencies, the health department, commerce departments, labor and industry departments, as well as public and private employers in the local communities.

The HealthChoices Request for Proposal (RFP) in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is another example of how state government is beginning to look at service coordination in a more integrated and collaborative manner between government agencies and private managed care providers. Effective as of November 1, 1996, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania intends to establish a new coordinated and integrated health-care delivery system to all residents who are eligible for Medical Assistance, especially those who require medical, substance abuse, and other services through a mandatory, capped managed care program:

> The movement toward managed care recognizes the rapidly changing health care environment, responds to concerns about rising health care concerns about rising health care costs, and recognizes the need for governmental reform...The goals of the HealthChoices physical and behavioral health care programs are to improve accessibility, continuity, and quality of services for Pennsylvania's Medical Assistance populations, while controlling the program's rate of cost increases. (Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, 1996, p. 7)

However, as noted earlier, coordination on all government levels is especially needed in order for the overall federal system to be effective. There is nothing that precludes the issuing government agency, such as the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in issuing the HealthChoices RFP, to step up and/or mandate the collaboration process. For example, if the U.S. Department of Education is issuing NOFAs for training slots, the U.S. Department of Labor should be required to find the jobs to match the training so that employment opportunities are available to the trainees upon completion. Planning activities should not happen in a vacuum, but should be coordinated among all federal agencies, as well as among local agencies and communities. For instance, when the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania decided to pursue a separate contract for behavioral health, it included private sector managed care organizations, consumers, service providers, family members, legal advocates, and state and local government in the planning process.

How To Establish and Maintain Partnerships

The following are a few observations, based on experience, of how to foster and sustain a successful partnership. Some of these issues are commonsensical to many people. However, it is critical that partnerships take care of some minor but fundamental issues. In order for partnerships to be successful, it is important that the involved parties have a common purpose and goal. Each collaborating member needs to have a clear understanding of his/her role, as well as the expectations of him/her in the partnership.

Problems with Partnerships

Due to the different interests at hand in partnerships, there are often common problems that present themselves. Many partners bring preconceived opinions and assumptions about the population group they are working with or the common goal. Many partners do not want to commit themselves to the issues at hand. For example, for many years public housing was used as a research ground for all types of agencies. Quick "in and out" services or research was conducted. All types of both public and private agencies showed a real interest in partnering with local community groups to research the public housing population and its problems from a community standpoint. However, these agencies never committed themselves to improving the conditions they reported in the community and subsequently lost credibility with local community groups and residents. Today there is little trust between public and private agencies that want to provide services or conduct research utilizing residents living in public housing. PHA strongly encourages any agency to make a commitment to work with public housing residents when engaging in projects involving them.

Technology and Data Integration

Partnerships and collaborations must continue to grow in order for communities to survive in the next century. Modern technology via computers makes it possible to share, accumulate, and integrate data on a more superior level than ever before. The integration of data is essential in order for any collaborative system to be effective. Tioga County is an excellent example of how data integration can improve the service level for clients. The Community Work Stations Pilot Project administered by the City of Philadelphia is another example of beginning service and data coordination and integration across government agencies via a networked comprehensive computer system. The Community Work Stations Pilot Project is a central intake and referral program, and aims to enable clients to access services for which they are eligible through one point of contact. PHA is a partner in this pilot program in Philadelphia and will have several community work station computer services located in its key departments that serve residents, its police mobile station, and one of its developments.

When issues of confidentiality and sharing of reports have been worked out on all levels, there is no excuse for government agencies not taking advantage of the technology. The start-up costs to bring government into the next century cannot compare to the savings that government will experience on all levels with the survival of our inner cities.

Conclusion

What makes up communities, whether they are urban or rural, is effective governance that supports industry, commerce, safety, culture, fellowship, and religion (Bowman & Kearney, 1990). These are all considerations that need to be nurtured and sustained over time. If one is lacking, the balance is lost. Government's duty, then, is to step into the missing role and recreate the balance. In order for government to recreate the balance, however, it has to collaborate with different public branches, all of which serve different purposes.

As described in this paper, the common perception of our nation's inner cities is that they are communities with little or no resources, impaired by poverty and neglect on all levels. This paper has attempted to refute this perception. Urban communities have a wealth of resources available to them, such as academic institutions, cultural centers, business hubs, and health and human service agencies. Universities and foundations in particular can play a key role in revitalizing urban communities. The problem is that the resources and services available in the urban communities—and especially government services—are not linked, but often are highly fragmented. Many urban problems are due to the fragmented government delivery system that is currently available to the families and children in the inner cities. There is often no coordination and communication across government, private, and nonprofit agencies and programs. In addition, depending upon the philosophy of the service provider, the programs often send mixed messages to clients.

To bring our urban communities into the 21st century, it is crucial that government becomes the catalyst and provides the structure for local community growth by supporting families and educating children and youth. The failure in this effort has been to address problems individually rather than holistically. Problems can only be solved holistically if all parties cooperate and collaborate. Consensus building needs to happen across agencies and should start at the federal level. If none of these efforts filters down to all levels of the organizations and agencies, however, this process will not be successful. The communities have already bought into this process. The Tioga County Human Services Agency is but one example of how service coordination and integration across government agencies can make a real change in the community for families, children, and youth, while saving the public money.

Our real and immediate challenge is in concluding how to make key federal government stakeholders understand that the socioeconomic survival of inner-city communities and of children and youth depends on achieving service integration on all levels.

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Chapter 7

The Urban University: Its Role in Community Development

By Bernard C. Watson

The American attitude toward cities has always been ambivalent at best. While they were and are admired as centers for business, finance, and culture, they have often been regarded with suspicion and even hostility. There are many strands in American history which help to account for this negative attitude: the Puritan abhorrence of the sin and misery associated with European capitals; the high value placed on solitude by gentlemen farmers like Washington and Jefferson; the rugged determination of the pioneers who kept pushing westward until there was no longer a frontier. America was settled, by and large, by people who were escaping from urban problems: oppression, poverty, lack of opportunity, failure, and even crime. The notion of "escape," so often expressed in folk songs that praise the wide open spaces or yearn for the freedom that they seem to promise, is deeply embedded within the national consciousness.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, dislike of the noise and dirt of great industrial centers was combined with fear and hatred of the immigrants who came in ever-increasing numbers to work in the factories and to settle in ethnic enclaves. The white majority—perhaps motivated by the Victorian idealization of privacy and a home surrounded by grass and trees, and certainly aided by federal housing and highway policies—continued the saga of escape. Now, as the twentieth century moves toward its close, the suburbanization of America is complete. Today, more Americans live in the suburbs than in the cities and rural areas combined. The majority of the population still residing within city boundaries is frequently comprised of African Americans, Hispanics, and Asians; a considerable number of families and individuals are poor, some are working and some are on welfare; and some city neighborhoods are terrorized by crime and drugs.

American cities have experienced extraordinary challenges in the past, but never on the scale which confronts them today, when there are increasing numbers of people in need of some kind of assistance; infrastructures are rapidly deteriorating; schools have eluded most attempts at reform; and cities do not have adequate resources. Too many families, individuals, and businesses have moved out of the nation's cities, taking taxes with them and sometimes leaving behind decayed and worthless property. Philadelphia is an example of one such city, in which the leadership, having done its best to eliminate waste and streamline municipal government, is now saying, "We can't do it alone."

While a regional approach to some of these problems might be helpful, there is little sign of movement in that direction, and there is even organized opposition. Philadelphia, to continue the example, has been both a city and a county since its consolidation in 1854. In the surrounding counties, and throughout the entire state of Pennsylvania, there are an incredible number of autonomous government units, each guarding its turf jealously, particularly from city encroachment.

State assistance to cities is limited and begrudging at that. In Harrisburg, Pennsylvania's capital, delegates from Philadelphia and Pittsburgh are outnumbered by representatives from suburban and rural areas who are unsympathetic at best and hostile at worst to the claims of urban areas. The same situation pertains in many states—for instance, Albany vs. New York City, or Springfield vs. Chicago—and is exacerbated when the state legislature and/or governor's mansion is controlled by Republicans.

What about federal aid to the cities? Massive federal rescue efforts aimed largely, though not exclusively, at urban problems have been undertaken at only two points in our nation's history. These efforts include: (a) the New Deal, launched by President Roosevelt when the Depression threatened the nation's entire population (city dweller, farmer; white, black); and (b) the War on Poverty, launched by President Johnson when the United States needed a positive focus in the aftermath of the assassination of President Kennedy.

Today, with the exception of the Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community (EZ/EC) initiative, neither Washington, DC nor the state capitals are offering adequate policies, programs, or funding for urban relief. Politicians simply do not see conditions in our cities as a national crisis, with implications for everybody. They are also aware that most voters now live in the suburbs, support reducing the national budget, and want federal tax dollars returned to the states.

The University and the City

As the urban crisis has deepened, increased attention has been focused on universities located in metropolitan areas because they have, or appear to have, the wealth, power, status, and intellectual resources which could or should be placed at the disposal of ailing cities. There is some irony here. The history and tradition of higher education in America militate against that probability, largely (although not solely) because the ambivalence toward cities already described has, not surprisingly, permeated academia as well.

The University as a Teaching Institution

Although continental universities had been inextricably linked with European capitals for centuries, the founders of American colleges adopted the English model, embodied by Oxford and Cambridge, of building cloistered halls far removed from city agitation. Here, it was believed, reflection on truth and transmission of values could best take place. Education was for the elite, an idea going back to Plato, enunciated by John Cardinal Newman, and given a more recent and American flavor by Hutchins and Barzun.

The University as a Research Institution

In the nineteenth century, German universities, with their emphasis on "pure" or basic research, and the specialization that it demanded, exercised enormous influence on the development of American thinking about higher education. Massive amounts of federal money given to American universities during World War II and after the launch of Sputnik appeared to provide explicit and official endorsement of their research function.

The University as a Service Institution

The Morrill Act, passed at the height of the Civil War, made federal land available for universities in the then-outlying states and territories. Although the land-grant colleges were, by definition, located in rural areas, they were based on the idea of service: to agriculture and industry, to farmers, and to rural young people who might otherwise not have been given the opportunity to go to college. Furthermore, although land-grant colleges were intended to engage in research, the results were to be practical and applicable (e.g., improving fertilizer, or conducting genetic studies related to crops and animal husbandry).

From these foundations has grown one of the most deeply held customs—one might almost say laws—of American higher education: hiring and promoting faculty members on the basis of their perceived contributions to teaching, research, and service. In practice, undergraduate liberal arts institutions have tended to emphasize teaching, while large universities (many of them originating as land-grant colleges, and since World War II, receiving billions of federal dollars) primarily reward research. Service has long been a late starter in the academic sweepstakes, and where it is recognized at all it is likely to be service to the profession rather than to anyone or anything else.

This attitude is well portrayed by Edward Shils, in an essay describing the relationship between Chicago and its university:

> A university which teaches at the highest level and does research of similar quality cannot concentrate mainly on matters of local and practical interest...Nor can a university which seeks to attain the highest levels of knowledge, general and historical, be directed preponderantly toward the satisfaction of practical interests...There was certainly little articulated expectation that great practical benefits would flow to Chicago from the existence there of the university. What was expected was that it would be a university of very high quality, training, among others, highly educated Baptist clergymen (Shils, 1988, pp. 216-7).

Nevertheless, from its founding until at least the 1930s, the University of Chicago was intimately involved with the city, although many other colleges and universities, believing that intellectual work thrived only in seclusion, actively avoided the turbulence and complexity of urban areas. President William Rainey Harper, inspired in part by the philosophy of faculty member John Dewey, created an environment that encouraged professors to study and take part in community affairs, social welfare, and politics. Almost every aspect of Chicago life—juvenile delinquency, the status of immigrants, public education, and local industries, to name but a few—were subjects of serious academic investigation—investigation that frequently resulted in recommendations for reform.

For numerous reasons, the University of Chicago gradually adopted the outlook prevailing elsewhere in American education that the institution must rise above its neighborhood in search of wider truths. The University, however, was never wholly dissociated from its home city. The opposite attitude toward university participation in urban reform can be found in David Hollinger's amusing description of the celebration of New York University's centennial in 1932. Although the main event was a conference on "The Obligation of Universities to the Social Order," the program "revealed a wish to escape altogether from its own city of New York and from urban life in general...That there might be a distinctly urban role for the university was not even suggested by these speakers and discussants, whose obliviousness toward this notion—so commonplace today—shows how easily NYU found contemporary support for its exercise in urban denial" (Hollinger, 1988, pp. 249-50).

Ironically, Hollinger notes, NYU's subsequent reputation as a leading urban university was based on its development of Washington Square College in lower Manhattan in the 1920s, under the leadership of Percy Buell Munn. NYU, then located in a choice section of the Bronx, had found it necessary to restrict the number of students who were Jewish immigrants, but nevertheless decided to develop a campus specifically intended to serve them.

Responsibilities of the Urban University

Over the past 30 years, a consensus has developed about the responsibilities that pertain to institutions of higher education located in major cities. These responsibilities include:

1. Providing local residents with access to the university (both as students and as users of university facilities). Active recruitment, sensitive counseling, financial aid, orientation, and remedial courses are among the usual routines prescribed and practiced. Although some fear the resources of the university being overwhelmed by underprepared students, those individuals must be reminded of the millions of veterans who took advantage of the G.I. Bill. Although many were first generation college students, they largely succeeded in obtaining degrees.
2. Establishing and maintaining good relationships with the surrounding neighborhood. This protocol was gradually established after numerous bruising experiences of town-gown hostilities, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s. Earlier, university administrators could and did buy land for expansion and evict residents with impunity. In the 1950s, such efforts were even regarded as contributions to urban renewal. However, when Columbia University announced plans to build a new gymnasium in a park in Morningside Heights, its own students joined the people of Harlem in protesting university highhandedness. Similar battles were played out in Boston, Chicago, Berkeley, and Philadelphia. There is hope that something has been learned since then.
3. Offering direct service to the community. Various schools of education, dentistry, law, medicine, and social work have initiated countless projects, both to assist urban communities and families, and to train professionals (graduate students and practitioners) for urban service.
4. Conducting research on urban problems.
5. Encouraging faculty, staff, and students to participate in local educational and social service enterprises. One university's lengthy report of these activities includes lectures and concerts open to the public, annual fundraising events, and even church and synagogue affiliations. Presumably, however, these do not formally inform faculty promotion and tenure decisions.

One should not belittle any form of service to the community. But in light of the severity of city—especially inner-city—problems, far more is needed. The urban university is being asked to adopt a larger role in confronting urban problems, a role that is more focused, better integrated, and more effective.

Because of their success in aiding agriculture, land-grant colleges are frequently referred to as models for institutions which could aid the cities. On the surface, this appears to be a sensible proposal, but while parallels can be drawn, it is hardly a ready-made solution. The land-grant system was developed over a period of more than 50 years, beginning in 1862 when Congress passed the first Morrill Act, authorizing the donation of public land to "provide colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts" and to "promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life" (Campbell, 1995, p. 17). Coming at a time when fewer than 2% of the population continued their education beyond the twelfth grade, this was an extraordinary piece of legislation, but it did nothing to improve opportunities for African Americans, who were barred by custom, law, or both from the new institutions. The second Morrill Act of 1890 provided something of a remedy: it required that federal funds be equitably distributed between white and black colleges (Tuskegee and 17 others benefited), while tacitly agreeing to the separate-but-equal doctrine.

The research function of the land-grant colleges was emphasized and expanded with passage of the Hatch Act in 1887, establishing agricultural experiment stations under their supervision. Finally, the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, in ensuring that the results of the scientific investigation of agriculture were passed on to farmers, called for a system of county extension agents, to be funded in cooperation with state, county, and local governments. Through consultation, demonstrations, and publications, agents became the local experts in home economics as well as agriculture for those not in college.

By creating this system, the federal government ensured the education of millions of people as well as the phenomenal success of U.S. food production. It is not surprising that some of those concerned about urban needs should look to land-grant colleges and universities as an example of how universities might help. But there are important differences. The problems of the cities are more complex and less tangible than agricultural challenges, such as improved fertilizer or animal husbandry. Moreover, while farmers were clearly intended to be the beneficiaries of agricultural experiment stations and cooperative extension services, the urban university has multiple client groups and no easy way to distinguish which group should have priority.

Paul Ylvisaker of the Ford Foundation first proposed urban grant universities in 1958, and while waiting for a consensus to develop, his foundation gave millions to establish urban centers and urban studies programs. Unfortunately, such centers tended to be separate entities which had little influence on university policy and programs and left the main institution unchanged. Then, too, urban centers that tried to work with community groups were liable to find themselves in conflict with local government officials and politicians who did not welcome interference with the status quo. In some universities, there was no dissension at all: Ford grants were used to support regular academic research or to create endowed chairs.

In the meantime, urban studies programs suffered from ambiguous definitions, suspicion of interdisciplinary studies, and university resistance to change. When "urban" was a part of pre-professional training, such as architecture or planning, it generally meant "downtown."

Despite these difficulties, the topic of university-city relationships has been addressed again and again in the years since Ylvisaker became its champion. Some examples include:

1962: Publication of *Municipal Universities*, by William S. Carlson, president of the University of Toledo, Ohio.
1963: A conference on "The University, the City, and Urban Renewal" was held in West Philadelphia (possibly the first discussion including representatives of both the academy and government). The proceedings were published by the American Council on Education.
1966: Publication of *The Urban University and the Future of our Cities*, by J. Martin Klotsche, chancellor of the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, founded in 1956.
1972: Publication of *The Campus and the City*, by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education.
1976: The Committee for Urban Program Universities was founded to lobby for a new land-grant system.
1980: Congress passed and President Carter signed the Urban Grant University Act. Re-enacted in 1986, the legislation included grants to institutions of higher education for urban projects, but all proposals had to carry an endorsement from the mayor. Neither bill was funded.
1990: *Metropolitan Universities*, a quarterly journal, began publication.
1994: The Coalition of Urban and Metropolitan Universities founded.

While the search continues for an adequate definition of the responsibilities of the urban university, it is unlikely that there will ever be a single definition that will prove satisfactory to all concerned—the faculty and administration, municipal officials, and ordinary citizens. Some observers have suggested that urban universities may now be more willing to participate in such discussions, and even to take action, because of increased competition for operating funds and research grants, to say nothing of students themselves.

What Is Currently Being Asked of Urban Universities?

Recently, two strategies with relevance to fostering university/city relationships have been discussed and in some places implemented. The first is interdisciplinary training; the second is community projects.

Interdisciplinary Training

Interdisciplinary training for pre-professionals and professionals has emerged from the frustration, experienced by clients, practitioners, and students alike, with the narrow definitions and rigid boundaries of the various "helping professions." Particularly maddening is the resulting fragmentation of services that becomes vividly apparent, even to an outsider, in case studies of multiple-problem families. For instance, a father may be unemployed and depressed, the mother alcoholic, one child failing in school, the other physically disabled. Various competent therapists, counselors, educators, and advisers may be involved, but our present system provides little or no mechanism for consultation and coordination of their efforts. In many universities across the country, attempts are being made to break down professional barriers through the introduction of new forms of graduate training, most of which are centered on schools of health, education, and social welfare which focus on children and the family.[1]

The movement toward interdisciplinary education is relatively new, although Ohio State University has been promoting collaboration for many years. One of the best known programs, Training for Interprofessional Collaboration (TIC), has been developing at the University of Washington (Seattle) for approximately five years under the leadership of Dr. Richard Brandon.

TIC offers students in five graduate schools—education, nursing, public affairs, public health/community medicine, and social work—the opportunity to become members of interdisciplinary teams ("cohorts") in order to develop and implement a community-based project. Current sites include two urban areas where networks of government and non-profit agencies are already in place, one focusing on health and the other on education, as well as a site in a nursing care center. The TIC experience extends over three academic quarters and is an elective (for which up to six credits are granted) outside the general requirements for a graduate degree.

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[1] The gap between traditional disciplines is also closing in other academic areas where scholars have recognized that many phenomena are interrelated (e.g., the Institute for the Study of Earth, Oceans and Space at the University of New Hampshire).

TIC is one of 51 programs described in some detail in a survey published last year by Dr. Pauline Jivanjee and three colleagues at Portland State University's Research and Training Center on Family Support and Children's Mental Health. Twenty-five of the programs were university-based, 26 agency-based. It is too soon to say what kind of influence these and other interdisciplinary training programs might eventually have on individual or agency practices, but the Portland survey report suggests that to date their institutional impact is negligible. The university programs are small and are elective components of the graduate regimen, so that "interprofessional collaboration is seen as a special interest, rather than as an essential part of the training" (Jivanjee, Moore, Schultze, Friesen, 1995, p. 147).

Community Projects

Community projects are the second, and probably more significant, strategy whereby the university can share its resources for the benefit of the city. This is hardly a new concept, but today's emphasis, in recognition of past difficulties, is on collaboration with the community, treating its representatives as equal partners with the university in any joint undertaking. Here, as with the campaign for interdisciplinary training, the energizing force appears to be the desire for improved services for families and children, although some of the projects are wider in scope. There are scores of examples, including:

- The Puget Sound Educational Consortium, consisting of the College of Education at the University of Washington and twelve nearby school districts. One report stated that recent projects, one related to the statewide change from junior high to middle schools and another involving an innovative approach to training for educational administration, would not have been possible without the "collaborative scaffolding already in place in our school-university partnership" (Johnson and Bell, 1995, p. 155).
- The Ohio Urban University Program, which links eight institutions of higher education. Together they have established an Urban Center at Cleveland State University, the founding member of the consortium. One of the center's projects is the maintenance of a database on all aspects of housing in the country—sales, taxes, physical condition, and so on, including a twenty-five year history. Anyone who has attempted to obtain comprehensive, accurate, and up-to-date information on any aspect of municipal life will recognize the value of this CSU project. Education has also been targeted by Cleveland State University. For instance, its urban affairs and law schools, together with the Cleveland public schools, established the Martin Luther King Law and Public Service Magnet School several years ago.

- Hahnemann University in Philadelphia joined a collaboration which was begun between the Philadelphia public schools and a local health agency. Grants amounting to $750 million made it possible to establish two school-based health clinics, which were so well run they were regarded as national models. Hahnemann later initiated a third clinic at another high school.
- Temple University School of Medicine in Philadelphia was the recipient of funds from the same foundation to create a program to reduce infant mortality in the immediate area through aggressive outreach and service to mothers, before and following child birth
- The Temple University School of Law has an outstanding record of service to the community, beginning with aggressive recruitment of local minority and disadvantaged students. Its outreach services include a legal aid office (staffed by five full-time attorneys as well as students); a program offering advice on benefits, wills, and custody arrangements for families living with AIDS; assistance to some 600 senior citizens per year; and consultation on legal matters with nonprofit agencies.

Several universities have launched collaborative efforts to improve the urban environment because of the need to attract and retain students. Marquette University in Milwaukee raised $18 million and leveraged a total of $60 million to renew a 90-block area around its campus through such measures as rehabilitation of stores and better policing, while Yale University donated $50 million to redevelop downtown New Haven, CT. In addition, Temple University is currently undertaking the building of an $85 million recreation and convocation center known as the Apollo which will generate more than 400 construction jobs and, once open, numerous full- and part-time jobs for local residents. The Apollo is a model of collaborative planning with representatives of the city, business, and the community, and its budget includes $5 million for housing in the area.[2] It will include an arena, a garage, retail stores, a jazz restaurant, a movie theater, meeting rooms, and educational facilities to be shared by the university and the community, and will be a great asset to continuing efforts to revitalize the surrounding neighborhood.

Universities may well be the only institutions which are capable—by virtue of their status, their presumed neutrality, and their contacts beyond the city—of mobilizing the regional planning which appears to be essential to municipal survival. For instance, Wright State University (a member of the Ohio Urban University Program mentioned above) played a key role in the formulation of "Challenge 95," a regional strategic planning process which began in 1987, when the Dayton Area Chamber of Commerce asked two WSU professors to analyze the economy of the Miami Valley and its prospects for the future. Their conclusions, that "turfism" and lack of leadership constituted major barriers to economic progress, led to the development of Challenge 95, which ultimately involved some 500 citizens and included plans for improving education and environmental protection, as well as the economy.

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[2] Further, over the past 12 years, Temple University has awarded 37.5% of its construction contracts to businesses owned by minorities or women.

For some years, the University of Pennsylvania has been home to the Center for Greater Philadelphia, which promotes regional cooperation through regular meetings for area politicians and others. Some major issues have been identified, but unfortunately, there has been little action to date. More recently, the Project for Regional Cooperation at Widener University in Chester, Pennsylvania spent a year in surveying 584 local governments and school districts in the Philadelphia area. With a major foundation grant, the project expects to teach negotiation skills and strategy creation in order to foster regional collaboration.

Community service, notes one university official in the Winter 1995 issue of *Metropolitan Universities*, ought to be deemed the university's new mission. Another suggests that institutions of higher education should accept that education for public responsibility is a necessary and continuous task. Nevertheless, it is far from clear whether universities are ready to move beyond the project approach to take on more comprehensive roles in urban life. The Education and Human Services Consortium, a loose coalition of 22 national organizations representing education, welfare, government, social policy, and employment, recently published *What It Takes*, a monograph outlining possible approaches to interagency partnerships. Of the 13 collaborative programs described, only two include institutions of higher education; in both cases, they are community colleges (Melaville & Blank, 1991).

Barriers to Interdisciplinary Training and Community Collaboration

The late Ernest Boyer once told the story of a physicist who was asked what gave him hope in these troubled times. He replied "Mozart and quantum mechanics." "Yet," notes Boyer, "in the academic world, too often the scientist and the artist live in separate spheres" (Boyer, 1995, p. 186). Many others have pointed out the importance of connections, particularly in a time when specialization is becoming ever more pronounced and the sheer volume of information threatens to paralyze us all. These two concepts, interdisciplinary training and community collaboration, would seem to be so obviously beneficial that one might assume they are commonly accepted and widespread in practice. This, however, is not the case. Collaboration within the university, among social agencies, or between institutions and communities falls victim all too frequently to tradition and territoriality.

The social services are divided into distinct and rigid categories. These categories are defined and maintained by a host of phenomena: theoretical framework, special language employed, state licensing requirements, funding stream rules, and pre-professional training in isolated schools and departments. The client must negotiate with numerous offices (and geographic proximity seldom affects agency practice), conflicting eligibility criteria, and different schedules. These specialized agencies cannot craft comprehensive solutions. They do not communicate well (or at all) with one another, and many are geared toward coping with a crisis rather than preventive action. By default, they must focus on what the agency can provide, not on what the client or the family may need.

In their defense, it should be said that some of the barriers do not originate within the structure or culture of the social services themselves. For example, the idea of sharing client records in order to devise a comprehensive diagnosis and treatment plan would encounter opposition from individuals and organizations that give high priority to the American right to privacy. The scarcity of resources can be blamed for at least some of the lack of attention to collaboration: social workers, teachers, public health nurses, and others are unwitting participants in a zero-sum game. They know that an increase in the budget for one will mean a reduction elsewhere, even while only a small percent of those in need can be reached at all. This competition encourages a tendency to apply for whatever funds are available, whether or not the agency mission clearly meets the potential grant criteria.

Universities suffer from similar problems. In-house conflicts—between faculty and administration, academic departments, and the liberal arts and "vocational" studies—are well-known and taken for granted. Collaboration is seldom preached and almost never practiced. To give one example: in one university, student services were so diverse and specialized that commuting students simply did not use them. Advising, counseling, and financial aid operated in different places and on different schedules, oblivious to students who lived off campus, who perhaps had jobs and families, and had neither the time nor the energy to make the rounds among scattered offices.

Tradition, language, the requirements of regulatory or funding agencies, the need to defend one's own "turf"—some of the factors which keep the social services apart—apply also to universities. Perhaps the most important factor that discourages collaboration, however, is the university reward system. As described earlier, university prestige is based on teaching, research, and service—with a particular emphasis on research (although there is considerable question whether the "publish-or-perish" mentality has any place in a professional school). In any case, collaboration does not make the list, and credit for serving in interdisciplinary programs is given grudgingly, if at all.

Conclusion

There are no "villains" in the story of interdisciplinary training and community collaboration. These conflicts do not result from deliberate obstruction of effective strategies, and the individuals and the institutions that are involved may be exemplary indeed, although their viewpoints are strictly, and traditionally, academic. Universities and their clients or communities may and probably do have different agendas—each of them legitimate. For instance, the city's police department cultivates a military posture within its ranks, and then may send its officers to the local university's criminal justice program for training in community relations. The perspectives will undoubtedly be disparate, but both are valid.

What can be done to encourage urban universities to expand their commitment to community development, crossing the traditional boundaries between academic disciplines or between the academy and the "real" world around it? The history of many reform efforts of the past two decades is not particularly encouraging. Bring together the leaders—presidents and board chairmen—and persuade them of the value of the collaboration? Experience suggests that little will follow them back home. Even enthusiasts will recognize that they can ill afford the vigorous and sustained activity which major change will require. A national conference and appropriate workshops? The inspiration engendered by good speakers and competent colleagues is also likely to be momentary, even for conference goers who are paying attention.

High on the agenda for many would-be reformers (and an outcome demanded by many funding sources) is publication of committee reports and conference proceedings. Surely these sound ideas, packaged in a well-designed booklet and circulated to a well-chosen mailing list, will prove effective. Unfortunately, there are literally millions of such booklets. A few are in someone's "must read" file, while others are resting on shelves in an office library awaiting a time when the topic becomes popular. The rest are taking up space in landfills across the country or, more optimistically, have been recycled into this morning's newspaper.

The sad fact is that three lessons remain to be learned: (a) how to communicate promising ideas effectively; (b) how to replicate promising models (of which there are many, in every field of endeavor); and (c) how to incorporate new ideas and models into our institutions or our systems.

Perhaps the EZ/EC initiative will succeed not only in helping to revitalize our cities, but in demonstrating that collaboration is both feasible and desirable. As the plans for the EZ/ECs are drawn up, I trust that the schools will receive considerable attention. Serious economic development is impossible without the support of educational programs such as preparation for the GED or job training.

To a conference focusing on children and youth, let the late Ernest Boyer have the last words:

> I've spent 40 years in higher education…But I'm convinced that the early years of formal education are the most important. And if this country would give as much status to the first grade teacher as we give to full professors, that one act alone would revitalize the nation's schools…[H]igher education's first responsibility is to understand that 'ready to learn' is the nation's most essential educational goal. For all children, this means good nutrition, quality preschool, and good parenting. It also means that those in higher education *[and, I might add, all the other social agencies and institutions]* must become active partners in the process (Boyer, 1995, pp. 182-83).

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Chapter 8

Serving Children and Families in the Inner Cities Through the Development of Professional Human Services Workers

By Edmund W. Gordon

There are three categories of need that must be addressed in the development of human services personnel for serving inner-city populations: (a) attracting and holding a critical mass of appropriate persons for this work; (b) determining the demands of the work and the qualities of the persons who are to do this work; and (c) preparing professional personnel who can meet these standards. This paper focuses special attention on the demands of the work and the qualities that must be developed in the professional personnel who provide human services to inner-city populations.

The Shortage of Human Services Professionals in the Inner Cities

Two forces appear to have contributed to the shortage of human services professional workers in the inner cities of our nation: (a) the increased democratization of opportunities for members of ethnic minority groups to participate in the mainstream of economic and social intercourse; and (b) the increased concentration and isolation of low-income African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, and recent immigrants from Asian and other countries in our inner cities. The two factors are not unrelated. As upwardly mobile members of various ethnic minority groups have found increased opportunities and have improved their economic positions, they have also taken advantage of opportunities to live and work outside of the central city. In those inner cities that have not been gentrified, less upwardly mobile and less affluent persons have moved into the residential space left by those who have chosen to escape the inner city. The result has been large urban ghettos that are economically depressed and greatly lacking a variety of human services institutions and personnel.

For many years, those who have been motivated to help other people with their problems have gone into medicine, the religious ministry, social work, education, guidance, psychology, or psychotherapy. They have been influenced by assumptions such as the following:

- Educational, personal-social, and psychological problems tend to be reflections of aberrant conditions or patterns of function unique to or within the individuals or groups in whom or in which the problems are manifested;
- Personal-social, particularly verbal, interactions or relationships are the essential vehicles by which insight, changed attitudes, and changed behavior are achieved;
- Abrasive, difficult, or deprived atypical complex conditions of life are destructive to wholesome development, and people should be protected from them;
- Understanding, or rather the acceptance, of an explanation of one's problems in the context of one's reconstructed history or some psychodynamic assumption leads to resolution or reduction of the problem and changed behavior.

These are called "assumptions" because the evidence necessary for their support is sparse, if not nonexistent. They are not postulates developed as the result of tested hypotheses. While they seem reasonable enough, I have serious questions about each of them.

Environmental Factors and the Human Condition

Evidence suggests that most human problems are reflections of disturbed interactions between individuals or groups and the phenomena of the environmental field in which they exist.[1] Under changed environmental conditions, the particular problem may not be manifested. There are some conditions or disorders in human subjects which will result in aberrant behavior no matter what the environmental conditions. However, most of the garden variety maladjustments and problems reflect or signal environmental conditions which are incongruent with, or noncomplementary to, the desired human condition.

It is doubtful that artificial or clinical personal social interactions are the source of changed attitudes and changed behavior, except in those interactions where new environmental conditions are created which require changed behavior, thereby resulting in changed attitudes and feelings.

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[1] In this chapter, an interactionist perspective with respect to the nature and origins of human behavior is asserted (see Gordon & Lemons [1997]).

I am fully persuaded that one's consciousness, attitudes, and feelings are products of environmental encounters—with "environment" defined to include the physical environment (objects, things, people, etc.), the perceptual or effective environment (those aspects of the environment to which one responds, including objects as well as conditions such as poverty), and the conceptual environment (including ideas such as mystic forces, love, friendship, and obligation). Without these encounters, these human organismic-environmental interactions, human consciousness, and possibly even human life would not exist. Our tendency to focus exclusively on the interpersonal interactions of these interpersonal counseling contacts, and to treat the environmental interactions primarily as history, attributes greater weight than I can accept to the power of individuals—even if they are professional helpers.

The difficulties and complexities of conditions of life to which we attribute much of the blame for maladjustment and from which we would protect our clients may not be the culpable agents. In recent years, I have been considering the possibility that the destructive element is the sense of powerlessness that so often accompanies these conditions. I am less convinced than I used to be that poverty is demeaning; rather, it is the sense of powerlessness that is so often forced upon the poor in an effort at keeping them poor that is demoralizing and destructive. It is not so much the fact of being Black, or the segregated experience that has been our lot, that is handicapping to Black people. It is the sense of powerlessness that this society has systematically imposed on Black people in order to exploit them.

It is unnecessary to discuss my reservations concerning the extent to which explanations or "understanding" contributes to problem resolution or changed behavior. Our casebooks are full of examples of clients who can offer explanations of their conditions. Some of them are better at psychodynamic formulations than many of us. These efforts at fiction or reconstruction of history do make some of them and us feel better, but we don't see much evidence that they are making our clients' lives better. We do see people living better as they begin to assert power and participate in changing the environmental interactions which dominate their lives (Thomas & Sillen, 1976).

Modifying the Environment to Meet Individual Needs

Mankind has existed on earth for millions of years. Until recently most of us have assumed that mankind will somehow continue to exist. However, our attention is increasingly focused on the possibility that what the destructive forces of the natural environment have been unable to do in the contest between humans and nature manmade changes in the physical environment may quickly accomplish. We now come face to face with the possibility that without radical shifts in our relationship to our physical environment, mankind may be destroyed by the pollutant-induced changes in that environment. In these days of emphasis on correcting the pollution of the physical environment, what may not be as clearly recognized is the equally urgent need to correct and prevent further pollution of the social or spiritual environment.

The advanced technology of modern communication has created a condition in which the human spirit is constantly bombarded with contradictions of complex social orders; the atrocities of interpersonal, intertribal, and international conflicts; the inequities inherent in practically all of our social systems; and the richness of our cultural and technical accomplishments. Human beings, accustomed to far simpler social environments, have reacted to these inputs with habituation or adaptation. As these inputs increase in complexity and intensity, the process of habituation is likely to accelerate, and the processes of adaptation must become more complex.

Some observers see these processes reflected today in the following: (a) growing insensitivity to social and moral indignation or shock; (b) increasing insulation and isolation in personal-social interchange; (c) alienation from the concepts, institutions, and affiliations which heretofore have provided stabilizing points of reference; and (d) disaffection, or loss of a sense of faith in nature, in society, in authority figures, or in oneself as continuing influential forces. These adaptations are probably enabling us to exist in a progressively threatening environment. They may also, however, be the mechanisms of our extinction, since adaptive behavior at one stage of development may be counteradaptive at another. Reptiles once started on a course of evolutionary adaptation. They gained in number and complexity of protective structures, until as dinosaurs they dominated the earth and the sea. But the adaptive armor developed in order to survive the rigors of that premammalian period became too heavy a superstructure to be supported by the accessible environmental resources. Or to put it differently, the dinosaur may have become extinct because its adaptation to one aspect of the environment precluded its effective utilization of another aspect which was an essential source of sustenance. Similarly, the protective adaptation of the human personality to the rigors of the increasingly polluted social environment may result in the isolation of humans from essential sources of support for personal and spiritual survival.[2]

What seems essential to our continued development and survival, then, is a concern with reciprocal adaptation. Our survival will increasingly depend on our capacity to adapt to a changing environment, and on our ability to adapt the environment to special needs without accelerating the production of pollutants. It is the latter half of this proposition that in part distinguishes humans from such animals as dinosaurs. We are capable of conceptualizing our environmental requirements and planning the modification of environments to meet those requirements. We are the only living creatures who combine the capacity to perceive reality, to change reality, to anticipate the outcome of our perceptions as well as our efforts at change, and thus to design and, to some extent, control interactions with the objective and subjective realities of life. It is in the quality of these interactions that man's destiny, individually and collectively, is determined.

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[2] For a more fully developed discussion of the notion of double-edged behavioral adaptations, see Gordon (1967).

The Individual and the Environment: Dimensions Necessary for Adaptation

We have noted that the human being, more than any other creature, has the power to change the environment to suit his or her needs, and thus is not limited, like other animals, to changing only himself or herself to ensure survival. Keeping in mind this need for reciprocal modification, what, then, are the dimensions of the relationship between the individual and his or her environment which are essential for continued adaptation and development? What is required is a complex balance which must be maintained in three essential areas (Thomas & Chess, 1980).

The first dimension involves the balance between congruence and incongruence, which must be maintained in such a manner that the organism and environment are "at home" with each other, yet still in a state of sufficient tension that the relationship and its components do not become static. Thus it is necessary to maintain enough incongruence between the human and his or her environment to ensure this minimum tension, but always at the risk of an incongruence so great as to be confusing, frustrating, disruptive, and potentially destructive.

In what might be called the constancy-change dimension, the nature of one's interaction or experience with his or her environment must be sufficiently stable or consistent to allow for orientation of self with objects and phenomena, yet at the same time must maintain a certain level of and capacity for change so as to keep the system dynamic, and to support a perception and acceptance of change as an essential existential process. This state, which I choose to call dynamic-constancy, provides for change while simultaneously providing logic and stability on which the organism can depend. A central task of human intelligence in dealing with change is to recognize its many features. There exists at all times a minimum requirement of regular but modest amounts of change, which may occur without dissonance and may allow for easy adaptation. However, there are certain times when radical change may be required for the development of some phenomena. This degree of change may be necessary to dislodge a recalcitrant force or to re-energize a moribund system. The problem, of course, is to recognize the circumstances that call for which kind or what degree of change.

A third dimension involves the collective-idiosyncratic-needs balance, which we seek when we deal with the problems of recognizing, allowing for, and respecting individuality within the context of the "essential" requirements of group survival. Obviously, it is not beneficial either to the individual or society if he or she has developed in such a way that individual needs are no longer compatible with the survival of the group. On the other hand, group life is threatened and certainly will not be enriched if provisions are not made for the idiosyncratic needs and interests of the individuals comprising it.

The need for the establishment and maintenance of these three areas of ecological balance or personal-politico-social homeostasis has implications for what we do in the process of helping people with their problems. An approach which combines ecological and personal-social concerns seems indicated. The human services field has been greatly influenced by the traditional concern in the behavioral sciences with the characteristics and behavior of individuals and groups. In particular, psychology, education, and social work have tended to neglect the study of the characteristics and behavior of environments in which people develop and learn (Baker, 1968). Our strategy has been to work on the individual directly to make a change within the individual, and seldom to modify the environment or to involve the individual in the deliberate modification of the environment to more appropriately complement unique personal developmental needs.

Human Services Development and the Medical Field: A Comparison

All of the helping professions in many ways parallel the medical profession in its development; as such they may be moving in a pattern similar to the development followed by that profession. Let us review some of that history.

One of the earliest conceived goals of medicine was the control and elimination of evil spirits, with the witch doctor standing as the symbol or practitioner of the science. In a sense, guidance in its early days was also concerned with evil spirits as causative agents, with moralistic exhortation serving a function parallel to the witch doctor's incantations. It was not by accident that the religious leader was the first chief dispenser of guidance and continues to function actively in this field.[3]

A somewhat higher level of scientific procedure was reached in medicine with the introduction of herb therapy, which involved the identification and administering of substances in nature which seemed to be associated with recovery in the infirmed. In the guidance field, information came to serve a similar purpose, with the emphasis on supplying the specific information thought necessary to adjustment and decision making. In guidance, the parallel to medicine's treatment with herbs was our treatment with information.

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[3] Some of these parallels between the fields of medicine and guidance counseling were initially identified by Gordon (1970).

As scientific knowledge increased, surgery became the primary technique in medicine, its purpose being to correct disordered physical conditions causing illness or interfering with normal functions. Surgery so dominated the profession that its importance came to be reflected in the title "physician and surgeon." Similarly, counseling came to be the technique of central importance in guidance, the procedure being directed at emotional disorders causing maladjustment or interfering with functioning. Counseling so dominated this profession that "counseling and guidance" came to be the common title by which the profession is known.

With the development of the germ theory of illness, germ control became a central concern of medicine, and growing success in the control and treatment of germs accounted for major strides in the profession. Anxiety control became a similar concern in the field of guidance when anxiety came to be considered a central feature in maladjustment, emotional disturbance, and mental illness. The treatment and control of anxiety greatly influenced the practice of guidance despite many admonitions that this technique constituted psychotherapy and was beyond the scope of guidance. Nonetheless there hardly exists a counselor who does not directly or indirectly turn attention to the control, treatment, or utilization of anxiety in his or her work as a guidance specialist.

The next development in medicine, supportive therapy, was made possible as a result of germ theory. Supportive therapy was aimed at strengthening the organism as it naturally combated germs by three methods: (a) enriched nutrition; (b) control of environmental conditions to reduce the competing demands on the system; or (c) the introduction of drugs which directly attacked germs or provided support for the system. The field of guidance was influenced by similar methods, also known as supportive therapy, and utilized drugs for treatment of certain conditions. Just as germ theory influenced the course of medicine, so anxiety theory led practitioners in the guidance field to develop supportive procedures designed to: (a) provide psychological support as the individual struggles with personal anxieties; (b) structure the environment in order to reduce the competing demands on the individual; or (c) attempt to insulate the individual from the disruptive effects of anxiety, as in chemotherapy with the use of sedative drugs. We have not yet discovered, in this area, a chemical treatment for the anxiety itself.

Germ theory was also responsible for a further development in the field of medicine—public health. When correction of diseases through the application of germ theory proved to be inadequate, it became clear that preventive measures were needed. Medical specialists began to turn their attention to the treatment of conditions which produce disease. When malaria became a health hindrance to the exploitation of underdeveloped peoples by the so-called civilized countries, attention was turned to the control of the mosquito and the swamps in which it breeds. When the source of tuberculosis was understood, steps could be taken to correct the conditions out of which it developed. The effort to change was influenced by a similar concern for mental hygiene and community mental health. As the causes of emotional disturbance and mental illness were increasingly recognized to derive from the life experiences of the victims, the mental hygiene movement became prominent in the schools. Increasingly, mental hygiene specialists and the communities they served turned their attention to eliminating conditions which might create problems or interfere with wholesome development. Racial and economic discrimination became matters of public concern, and the concept of the democratic, as opposed to the authoritarian, classroom was given some attention. The theories of Dewey gained prominence, and educators came to recognize the importance of the student's learning to appreciate himself or herself and his or her relationships with other people. The conditions under which people lived began to draw almost as much concern as mental illness itself, and all aspects of school service were seen as part of these conditions, influencing children equally with their classroom experiences. It should be emphasized, however, that at this stage the ideas and theories were considerably more honored than their practice.

Guidance and Developmental Processes

This concern for the prevention of disease and disorder through control of physical and social health conditions came to be reflected in an equal concern for developmental processes. In medicine in the current period, for example, pediatric specialists are trying to change their image as a group of doctors concerned only with diseases of children to that of a medical specialty concerned with the child's total course of development and the contribution this makes to health or illness (Levine, Carey, Crocker, & Gross, 1983). Pediatricians on the cutting edge of the field are increasingly viewing themselves as specialists in environmental and developmental medicine. As such they are concerned on the one hand with the monitoring and management of developmental processes and related environmental conditions, to the end that optimal health conditions prevail, and on the other hand with the manipulation of these processes and conditions, to the end that disease and malfunction are corrected.

We see a similar trend in guidance, where the natural and directed development of young people is increasingly seen as the field's principal concern and where the study and manipulation of environments are increasingly viewed as crucial vehicles for the achievement of guidance objectives (Gordon, 1971). The concern with theories of career development and the theories underlying social development reflects the growing emphasis in the field on understanding the developmental process as a first step toward the goal of directing that process. In my own work, drawing on philosophical materialist concepts, I have argued for years for greater attention to the influence of environmental-organismic interactions on development and the need for guidance specialists to concern themselves with the analysis, design, and control of environmental encounters. When this concern is combined with an understanding of the developmental process, and the two are used to complement each other rather than being left to chance, we will find that we have provided the basis for more successful guidance work, and that means the opportunity for making real differences in the lives of young people.

This concern with environmental encounters in medicine and other human services and a reconsideration of the nature-nurture controversy should lead to greater attention to the interaction between intrinsic and extrinsic factors involved in the development of human behavior (Gordon & Lemons, 1997). This concern with the interactive nature of these many factors is likely to lead to a confluence of interests and division of labor within these professions, with all being concerned with human developmental ecology, with medicine continuing to be focused on physical and biophysiological functions and the others focusing on psychological, sociological, and political/economic vectors, where the quality of function is largely determined by the nature of the individual and the individual's reciprocal relationships with the vectors operative in the individual's existential field (his or her perception of the people, objects, conditions, and structures of his or her environment).

The Developmental Ecology Model

For all of these professions, the history of knowledge and of human development makes it clear that the dynamics of the ecosystem (the living community and its nonliving surroundings, both in their objective reality and as they are subjectively perceived) should be and will be their ultimate joint concern. In a paper that I wrote some 25 years ago, I called for a turn to a new knowledge base for the human services. I called it human developmental ecology (Gordon, 1970).

In order to understand the relevance of the ecological model, it is helpful to review the role the system plays in providing the physical, psychosocial, and sociocultural phenomena necessary for one's successful adjustment to one's environment. Within any system, both supportive and restrictive forces are present, facilitating or interfering with reception of the basic life supplies and placing the population at varying degrees of risk. It would appear, then, that the central functions of physical, mental, or social health workers are to assess these forces and to examine their interactions in order to develop preventive measures to preclude serious disturbances in or restore the homeostatic balance between humans and their environment. This is not an easy task. In its essence, it is similar to the task of applied biology that ecologists have been attempting since the days of Haeckel.

Basically the ecological model provides a synthesizing function when superimposed on a social system. By providing a conceptual frame encompassing the human and nonhuman environment, the model offers a framework for gathering data of a multidisciplinary nature without disturbing the natural interplay of environmental forces. Rather than the operant approach of behavioral psychology which attempts to control certain forces and concentrates on events and processes in reference to contrived data, ecology employs a transducer data system in which conditions "in situ" are assessed. This kind of dynamic analysis is needed by the behavioral specialist who is trying to examine many of the environmental forces impinging on the individual's behavior and also the status of his or her adaptation to the environments in question—the school, home, community, etc. While the individual is being understood, the model simultaneously permits the worker to examine the environment, looking for ideas for changing the total structure, redefining the goals, and exploring the ability of the system to survive in its present state, the ability of the student to survive in that state, and the potential of both for changed existence in improved states.

In addition to integrating the physical, psychosocial, and sociocultural milieu, the ecological model is based on evolutionary principles stressing the process of development. By allowing the analysis of both structure and function, the model is congruent with the developmental nature of the learner. An essential weakness in much of our work has been our focus on the assessment of the status of the individual in terms of achievement level, personality type, and measured intelligence. These procedures arbitrarily freeze and extract isolated evidences of development or "learning," negating the dynamic character of the teacher-learning and developmental processes. The result is that we view the data as they are received in static categories, while what is more helpful to the improvement of the developmental process is the way in which the person is functioning in the maintenance of progressive equilibrium.

All of the professions concerned with the actualization of human potential must place greater emphasis on primary prevention, while continuing to support both secondary and tertiary methods of intervention. Primary prevention seeks not only to lessen the impact of harmful forces and immunize the population from their effects as do tertiary and secondary methods, but also to eliminate these harmful forces from the environment.

At first the focus of the ecological model on the individual primarily as a member of a community or other organizational system may seem incongruent with our professed concern with the development of the individual. But such concern does not limit the worker to interacting with individuals only as members of groups. The ecological model permits us to be truly respectful of the individual by placing greater attention on the multiple forces impinging on him or her and to help the individual grow through the adequate definition and control of the effective environments which are unique to him or her. Mounting evidence suggests that a substantial impact in reducing risk can be made on individual development by altering deleterious aspects of the system in which the individual functions. The developmental-ecological model makes understanding the system and its multiple interactions equally important to understanding the individual, and makes control and modification of the system crucial to the development of the individual, and uniquely appropriate as a model for the reconceptualization of approaches to guided behavior change.

Professional Tasks of Urban Human Services Delivery

What are the professional tasks of human services delivery in modern times and especially in our inner cities? They should be:

- to make expanded alternatives available for choice referable to subjects' own development;
- to optimize decision behavior in these expanded situations of choice; and
- to facilitate development and movement toward the objectives specified by these choices.

Each of these tasks has a dual focus: one on the individual, the other on the environmental field in which the individual exists. Having been greatly influenced by the early medical model, the other human services have focused almost exclusively on the individual: What does he or she bring to the situation? What predictions can be made relative to the individual's function? What can we do to change the individual? The early individual psychological model is now being challenged by the developmental-ecological model as a more appropriate frame for the conceptualization and implementation of guided behavior change. Put simply, the choices an individual makes and the quality with which these choices and personal total development are implemented are largely dependent on the nature of the interaction between whatever is given or possible in the individual, and that which is given or possible in the system in which the individual functions.

Implications for Human Services Professionals

With this framework, it is possible to examine some of the implications for human services professions:

- The logical first step is a shift from appraisal of individuals to appraisal of environments or individuals in environments, with attention to such questions as, "What is the nature of the conditions of learning and development?" And, "What is the reciprocal relationship between this individual and his or her developmental-learning environment?" The new focus calls for a shift from the study of pupils or clients to the study of systems—the family as a social system, the school as a social system, the plant or office as a social system, and education and development as social processes.
- Also required is a shift from the assessment of behavioral product to the assessment of behavioral process. With less emphasis on quantitative summary

and classification, the guidance specialist will examine the nature of intellectual and social functioning for the individual and describe those functions qualitatively.

- This shift in focus of appraisal will result in a movement away from prediction to prescription. The more sophisticated and sensitive appraisal process will provide information, making possible the prescription or design of learning experiences and learning environments. This should be followed by a shift from identification of and placement in available opportunities to the creation of and placement in appropriate opportunity situations.
- The educational function should be vastly broadened from our traditional concern for the discovery of the talented few to the development of talent in all. This entails a fundamental commitment to those policies and practices which ensure universal optimal development.
- In education, counseling, social work, and related areas of services delivery, we will also need a shift in method from didactic exhortation to supported experience, discovery, and modeling as vehicles for learning, with more attention given to use of naturally occurring or contrived environments to provide interactions supportive of learning and development in specified new directions.
- The ecological model implies a shift from interpretation to environmental orientation as the principal focus in counseling and other forms of directed learning. The skills the behavior change specialist helps to develop in young people should include the use of environmental clues and relationships to analyze and interpret behavior and experiences, to manage information, and to bring order to confusion and chaos as essential steps in problem-solving.
- Emphasis on consultation should come to be greater than emphasis on counseling, and the focus in consultation should include active efforts to influence persons and groups who have the power to make necessary and relevant changes in the conditions which determine the course of the subject's life.
- In addition to these changes in focus and method, a significant consideration is style; namely, what is needed is a shift from diplomacy to advocacy. Our clients don't need so much to be apologized for and have their troubles explained away, but need to be more actively involved in the decision-making processes that control their lives. Their rights need to be more appropriately defended and opportunities for meaningful involvement need to be more vigorously advanced. Equally important, the role of the professional in the human services should not be that of ambassador for the establishment, conning clients into cooperation with the system, but that of ombudsperson protecting the individual, the family, and unprotected groups from accidental, incidental, or intentional abuse by the establishment or its representatives.
- Finally, we need to bring about a shift from a primary concern with socialization to a major concern with politicization. Probably one of the most important contributions we can make to the optimal development of disadvantaged people

is to help them to learn not only what is expected of them by the social order (the traditional concern of socialization), but also how they can effectively use themselves in relation to other people to cope with the systems which in large measure control their lives. Increasingly, I see social coping and systems management or systems maneuvering skills as the skills essential not only to the development of an adequate concept of self, but also to future survival. This means that participation with inner-city clients by the professional workers who serve them in the politicization process must be raised to the level of urgency, if their life chances are to be improved.

Conclusion

In the present climate, as professional workers and representatives of the institutions by which we are employed, we often appear to be contributing more to the separation of this process from the main line of human service and development. Low-status members of our inner cities often move vigorously on this front without us. Too many of us have lined up behind the protectors of the status quo. Conservation is an essential process and can be a respectable stance. However, at present, too many of our disadvantaged fellow citizens see this concern as a camouflage for advancing executive, economic, judicial, and police repression. Under these conditions, when they proceed without more tutored guidance, their need for politicization sometimes leads them to express their protest in irrational and explosive ways. But as professional specialists in the human services, concerned with the improvement of their conditions and democratic change, we cannot turn our backs to their endeavors or join the opposition against them. We must join with them and hope that we will influence them and that they will influence us, as together we seek to make our inner cities places of hope, of opportunity, and of humane community living.

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Chapter 9

Coda

This final chapter, or "Coda,"[1] provides a summary of reflections on the conference, including all of its elements—the commissioned background papers, the conference prospectus, the discussions of emerging issues, and the next-step recommendations developed by the conference participants.

The Coda is not a consensus statement. The participants at the conference were highly diverse. Their voices told of some remarkable successes, some barriers and reverses, and much about needs and prospects for the future. The Coda aims to highlight these voices, all of them intended to help find ways to revitalize the inner cities of our nation, focusing in particular on the life and learning opportunities of children and youth.

- On one matter the conferees did reach a consensus: the needs of children and youth in inner-city communities, including those where major revitalization efforts such as the EZ/EC projects have been put in place, are very great—indeed even critical. However, the children of these communities continue to receive too little attention in most places. There is a need for leadership in developing an overarching "vision" of what can and should be done for children and youth in urban America. The vision should be a positive one, telling of what produces good health, learning, and development. Endless lists of deficiencies are not needed.

- The conferees also expressed a strong need for deep and sustained collaboration at all levels, and above all, for collaboration at the casework level or in direct work with children and families. The emphasis should be on positives—shared goals, reciprocal trust among all parties, and sharing of resources, including funds. The federal and state strategies should de-emphasize mandates and emphasize encouraging, challenging, and assistive strategies.

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[1] A term which refers to the brief reflective piece sometimes provided as the end of a musical composition.

- Conferees also agreed that the most important decisions in revitalization work should be made at the local level, taking into careful consideration the sequence of developments that are most sensible for each unique site. At higher or more general levels (city, state, and federal) there are needs for accountability, but there should be a yielding to local levels for most decisions. This suggests that at the state level, for example, standards such as the following might be set for approval of local activities: the proposed project is based on a thorough knowledge-base review; all stakeholders are represented in project planning; the project has been designed to enhance coordinated neighborhood development; a credible plan for evaluation has been proposed. Beyond such standards, decisions should be made at grassroots or neighborhood levels.

- This does not, of course, preclude consultation and technical assistance services from universities or other federal agencies, such as regional educational laboratories, or national research and development centers. Many federal, state, and local resources can be mobilized to help advance community revitalization efforts even while employing local controls.

    * It would be helpful if the several departments of the federal government would create a broad pool of funds for research and pilot testing of programs that work. Many problems of such communities are complex and require research that is broadly framed. For example, a problem first identified as a school learning problem may often be best understood as involving a dysfunctional family and problems of unemployment. We need to develop strategies that strengthen institutions to address these multiple problems.

    * It would be desirable as well for urban communities to draw on research and program funds on the basis of eligibility criteria and adequacy of plans, rather than constant competition for funds. People of distressed communities are not often able to fashion elegantly their application for funds, and therefore may compete with others only with difficulty. We need to explore with funding agencies a more flexible way to satisfy their need for accountability with the need to develop and sustain valuable community and local institutions.

    * We need to consider expanding mutually assistive communications using all possible methods of communications—print, electronic, direct technical assistance, etc. The "training the trainers" model should be one of a series of options to be considered that could serve to maximize the value of successful models across the country.

  - There is a critical need to draw the resources of urban universities into the work of community revitalization efforts, such as the EZ/EC initiative. This should involve problem analysis, providing knowledge-base reviews, research, evaluation, training, and consultation. New initiatives will be required in many communities to create cross-disciplinary units that can match the broad range of activities that make up much of the community revitalization efforts.

  - Researchers and trainers will need to enter inner-city neighborhoods as true partners with community personnel, willing to listen as well as to consult. In many cases, revised incentive structures and roles for university personnel will be required.

  - Much the same plea must be voiced to professional societies; that is, asking them to examine the situation of children in inner-city communities and help design and implement needed programs. More leadership by the professional societies in advancing ideas and services seems equally essential.

- Another key area of agreement among the conferees is the recognition that positive goals such as "improving the life chances of inner-city children and youth" or "nurturing strong inner-city families" need to be defined from clients' perspectives. Too often it is assumed that outside agencies can define the problems that face urban children and youth and their families. Outside agencies, however, sometimes miss the mark, and operate in paternalistic ways, ignoring inner-city strengths and/or limiting possible solutions. Learning how to honor the perspectives and voices of the clients is essential. A related concern is that accountability needs to be connected to grass roots interest and structures.

  - Technical assistance is an area of much need in community revitalization efforts. Training needs are especially important in areas such as leadership, collaboration, evaluation, and accountability. It is essential that leaders of community revitalization efforts have access to the best possible advice, consultation, technical help, and training.

  - The importance of playing an advocacy role was another area noted by the conferees as critical to sustaining efforts to improve conditions for children and youth in urban communities. Capacity-building efforts in inner cities need to be the goal so that the culture of the inner-city community changes from one in which residents expect things to be done to and for them to one in which residents are empowered to define their own needs, secure the necessary resources, and use the political system effectively.

Next Steps: A Starter

Community revitalization efforts such as the EZ/EC initiative are beginning to stir concerns and activities at many places: the Center for the Revitalization of Urban Education of the National Education Association (NEA); the project of the American Psychological Association (APA) on Education and on urban schooling; the Urban Education Initiative of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD); and the increasing number of interdisciplinary consortium arrangements within and across universities on children, youth, and families (e.g., the Children, Youth, and Family Consortium at the University of Minnesota, Temple University Center for Research in Human Development and Education, and the National Center for Children in Poverty at Columbia University to name a few). This conference on Development and Learning of Children and Youth in Urban America has also added to the "stirring."

Nevertheless, most of this increased activity suffers from a lack of clarity as to shared goals, starting points, and connections with other agencies and associations. However, there are surprisingly large numbers of people who are willing to come together to discuss children living in the inner city, and there are some surprises about how their concerns are shared across many agencies, such as churches, schools, health agencies, and welfare agencies, to name but a few. It is finding practical ways to join together to launch coordinated services that has posed major implementation problems. An apt metaphor of this situation, prompted by the recent attention focused on the 1996 Summer Olympic Games in Atlanta, is as follows:

> A number of athletes, still in heavy sweat clothes, are gathering on the race track. They are engaged in warm-up activities. Perhaps they will form a line and begin a race. But there is no person there to serve as "starter," the one who says it is time to strip to racing attire, gather in a line, face the hurdles and head down the track when the starter signal goes off.

There is much need for a "starter" on the human development side of community revitalization initiatives, a person of high credibility and authority, who can assume the convening leadership. This person should not be a government employee, but should have the power and know-how necessary to reach all elements of government and private agencies. The commission, which should include researchers, field-based professionals, and policy makers who would work closely with the starter, could be organized through a local university committed to serving in a facilitating role to support the work of its community.

Both the starter and the special commission should focus on forging an aggressive campaign to place sustained efforts to foster healthy development and schooling success of children and youth at the core of efforts to revitalize inner-city communities through next-step recommendations such as the following:

- Cause the consolidation of resources across all government departments in support of projects such as the EZ/EC initiative. For example, there are literally dozens of sources at the federal level for the support of work at early childhood level. Many of these sources could be consolidated. Fractionation is a serious implementation problem for communities wishing to make broad-based improvements in the early life experience of children in economically disadvantaged urban communities.

- Help to create visibility for community revitalization projects such as the EZ/EC initiative, and assure their credibility and growth by bringing resources of the highest quality and advancing public awareness of good work. Media contacts are important as a way of building general citizen understanding and support.

- Meet with university leaders and faculty to fire the "starter signal" for formation of cross-disciplinary teams of researchers and field-based professionals to join community leadership to strengthen the capacity for implementing improvement strategies in the service of the development and learning of children and youth.

- Meet with representatives of professional associations to initiate broadly coordinated efforts to address the situations of children and youth in economically distressed urban communities.

- Lead the way across federal departments in forming a broad pool of research funds to be available only for projects of cross-disciplinary design conducted in collaboration with people and community agencies of the inner cities.

- Challenge every federal department and all state governments to double and redouble resources devoted to enhancement of the life and learning situation of urban children and youth.

Although the idea of creating a special commission headed by a citizen of superlative credibility and strength was not thoroughly discussed at the conference, the conferees were concerned that a formalized leadership mechanism be established to advance the next-step recommendations generated at the conference. In addition, some conference participants were skeptical about the usefulness of creating a temporary "czar" in the field, and tended to turn to themselves for leadership. The majority of participants, however, found that approach too comfortable, not adequately sensitive to the urgent need to forge revolutionary improvements in the life circumstances of urban children and youth.

Conclusion

We conclude that there is serious and growing neglect of children in the inner cities of the nation. Nothing could be more negative in implications for the future of the nation than this fact. The problem is complex. For certain, it is beyond the capacity of any single agency—such as the school—to provide a solution. This is why the EZ/EC initiative and similar broadly framed efforts for community revitalization have seemed to offer such promise. But so far, even the EZ/EC efforts are mostly empty talk as far as children are concerned. It is essential that vigorous new forms of leadership be developed on behalf of children and youth, especially those whose lives are most distressed as in the inner cities of the nation.

The conference closed with a strong sentiment that while there are initial problems of leadership, will, and design as we try to make urgent repairs in the life and learning situation of inner-city children, there are significant signs of readiness to respond if only we can find ways to assemble all of the stakeholders at the starting line, organize the necessary resources, and begin.